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THE MOḌĪ DOCUMENTS FROM TANJORE IN DANISH COLLECTIONS

EDITED, TRANSLATED AND ANALYSED

BY

ELISABETH STRANDBERG

FRANZ STEINER VERLAG · WIESBADEN

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Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1983

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CONTENTS

Preface 7

Introduction 9

Description of the material 9
Organisation of correspondence 12
Historical background 14
Marāṭha Kings of Tanjore and Governors of Tranquebar 22

.... 24
.. 24
.. 30
.. 38

.. 40
.. 40

.. 44
.. 44
.. 49
.. 64
.. 70
.. 82

.. 86
.. 88
.. 284

.. 361
.. 363

.. 369

ERRATA

page 8, line 18: for »Filliozat« read »Filliozat †«;
page 78, line 22: for »ṭhanki« read »ṭhauki«;
page 124, top of document: insert »J«;
page 287, line 2: for »1783« read »1753«;
page 362, line 37: for »is the rendering« read »,– is the rendering«.

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Chapter 1. 24

The Moḍī script, its origin, use and abolition 24
Moḍī-Devanāgarī charts 30
Seals, śrī, hu and daṇḍas 38

Chapter 2. 40

Calendrical systems 40

Chapter 3. 44

Introduction to the Tanjore Marāṭhī language 44
Formula type of language 49
Vocabulary of normal language 64
Special features of the normal language 70
Appendix 82

Chapter 4. 86

Documents: Facsimiles facing transliteration 88
Translation 284

Abbreviations 361
Bibliography 363

Word index & Subject and name index 369
+ 2 illustrations in colour, no. 28 and no. 59

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Preface

The Moḍī documents held in Danish collections were for the most part brought to Denmark as a result of the sale of Tranquebar and other territories to the English East India Company in 1845. Thereafter they lay unnoticed until a series of events between 1973 and 1976 resulted in concrete plans to get them published.

By his lectures on the history of Indology, in particular those dealing with Tranquebar and Serampore, the then newly appointed lecturer in Indology at the University of Copenhagen, Dr.I.Fišer, inspired his Danish students to take up the study of Indo-Danish relations and contacts with the National Archives were established.

There the archivist in charge of Oriental manuscripts, Mr.C.Rise Hansen, had become aware of the value of the Moḍī material and had prepared a set of working copies af the Moḍī documents. The originals are in eight bundles of mixed contents in the Archives; there are some in the National Museum and a few in the Maritime Museum, Kronborg Castle, Elsinore. Attempts to investigate the material with the help of other European archives caused Mr.Rise Hansen to conclude that the work could only be carried out satisfactorily by a Dane.

It was a lucky coincidence that in 1976 Prof.S.G.Tulpule came on a short private visit to Copenhagen from Germany. With the help of Prof.S.Egerod of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies I was given the chance to show specimens of the material to our guest and that marked the start of a long cooperation with him. The Carlsberg Foundation granted the money necessary to give me a basic training in Marāṭhī and Moḍī in Poona under the guidance of Prof.S.G.Tulpule. Later on I visited the archives in Delhi, Madras and Tanjore to gather information about the fate of Tanjore Moḍī records in India.

I was lucky to be given valuable help by various specialists [1)] outside my own sphere of studies, for which I am extremely thankful. Prof.S.G.Tulpule and Dr.I.M.P.Raeside of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, have read the final manuscript and given valuable suggestions for further improvements. I wish to register my gratitude to my father, Fl. Strandberg, for having read and transcribed the extensive contemporary material in Danish and German, typed parts of my manuscript and read part of the proofs. Dr. I. Fišer has helped me to read the remainder of the proofs.

I am obliged to Prof.K.Glamann and the Carlsberg Foundation, Copenhagen, for the very generous grants which enabled me to visit and study the collections in Europe and India and provided the funds for the printing. Finally, I am grateful to Prof.G.-D. Sontheimer and the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, for kindly consenting to include this book into the series.

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Technical note.

The original documents vary considerably in size, from 15 to 55 cm in length and from 14 to 25 cm in width. The size of script is generally proportionate to the size of the sheet. Consequently, varying scales of reduction have been used for the facsimiles in order to achieve a more homogenous reproduction. The quality of paper differs as well; to make the text more readable the background has been screened as far as possible. In one case it has been necessary to reproduce the rewritten copy instead of the original Moḍī word (no.15, 1.28 *paṃḍita yā-*), as the fragment has become too frail to photograph. The imprints of seals alone have been reproduced; the seals themselves would not be readable. Any code or short text added later for the sake of filing in Tranquebar or in Copenhagen has not been included in the facsimiles.

The documents belonging to the National Archives have been photographed by Mrs.Alice Westergaard while Mr. Lennart Larsen has photographed those belonging to the National Museum.

1) They are, alphabetically, Prof.O.Feldbaek, Institute of Economic History, University of Copenhagen (historical introduction), Dr.J.Filipský, Oriental Institute, Prague (Dravidian vocabulary), Prof. J.Filliozat, Collège de France, Paris (Dravidian vocabulary), Mr.Y.N. Kelkar of Poona (transliteration of the two least readable Moḍī manuscripts (no. 29 and no. 43) and certain difficult words and passages in other documents), A. Krishnaswami Mahadick Rao Sahib, B.A., Tanjore, great-grandson of King Śivāji of Tanjore (information on certain points of the Tanjore administration under the Marathas) and Dr.F. Vahman, Institute of Iranian Studies, University of Copenhagen (Persian and Arabic vocabulary).

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Introduction

Description of the material

The material which is presented here for the first time constitutes the extant diplomatic documents from the Tanjore kings and their ministers to the governor of the Danish colony at Tranquebar and members of his government. There are also a few letters from other persons, including one from the Poona Peshwa Mādhava Rāva Nārāyeṇa Pradhāna and one from a low official at the Tanjore court. They are all written in the Marāṭhī language and the Moḍī script. They cover the period from 1725 to 1844 or approximately two thirds of the period in which Marāṭhī was the court language of Tanjore, which is situated in the otherwise non-Indo-Aryan speaking area of India. The 62 original letters preserved in Danish archives and museums represent only a small proportion of the complete correspondence in Marāṭhī and Moḍī script between the Tanjore court and Tranquebar. They seem, however, to be the only original Tanjore Marāṭhī documents extant in Western collections.

The French in Karikal and Pondicherry received similar letters from Tanjore; these were not transferred to Europe but kept in Pondicherry. According to an inventory drawn up in August 1761[1] many of the original old letters were still preserved at that time; on the occasion of governor, Count de Lally's surrender of Pondicherry in January 1761, the second-in-command in Pondicherry ordered the Pondicherry archives to be moved to Tranquebar where they were kept in safety. After their transfer back to Pondicherry, all these original letters were lost, apparently due mainly to the climatic conditions, nor have any such letters dated after 1761 been preserved.[2] The as yet unpublished and undescribed collection of 'lettres en caractères marathe', i.e. Moḍī, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris have nothing to do with Tanjore.[3]

1. E. Gaudart, *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde française*, Pondichéry 1690-1787. Paris-Pondichéry 1922-36, t.1, p.III.
2. A. Martineau, *Lettres et conventions des gouverneurs de Pondichéry avec différents princes hindous 1666-1793*. Pondichéry 1911-14, and *Inventaire des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde française*. Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française no.20. Pondichéry 1914.
3. A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des Manuscrits Indiens, Indo-Chinois et Malayo-Polynésiens*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits. Paris 1912, nos. 801 & 804.

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Nor did the Dutch in Nagapattinam send their original Indian correspondence to Europe. All Dutch archives were handed over to the British in accordance with the treaty of March 1824.[4] There is no reason to believe that any portions of the official correspondence between Tanjore, Nagapattinam and Karikal came into private hands.[5]

As far as England is concerned, there are no Tanjore Marāṭhī documents preserved in public libraries. These do, however, possess a number of mainly 19th and 20th century Marāṭhī documents from the Indo-Aryan speaking parts of India.[6]

The fate of the Tanjore Marāṭhī letters sent to the British authorities in India as well as of the archives handed over to them by the Dutch in India is not easy to discover. They were all kept on Indian soil. Major Gen.Gadre in his catalogue[7] gives a vivid description of how the Raj Records, the Resident's Records, the Agency Records and the Collector's Records were handled respectively by the Rajas, the Muslims during their three years in power in Tanjore from 1773 to 1776, and by the British authorities themselves. According to him, it seems that a few papers were transferred to the National Archives in Delhi, most of the important papers, e.g. the Raja's correspondence with foreign powers, were moved to the Madras State Archives at Egmore, whereas the less important ones were moved to the Collector's Office in Tanjore. The least important were meant to be destroyed, but are still kept in the Saraswati Mahal Library in the royal palace in Tanjore. A description of the Moḍī manuscripts in the Saraswati Mahal Library[8] covers only a very small section of the material which in any case would not pertain to the Raja's relations with foreign powers. A handwritten, incomplete catalogue[9] kept at the Collector's Office and said to

4. L.P.L. Pirenne, *De Rijksarchieven in Nederland. Overzicht*, Den Haag 1973, Deel 1, pp. 8-9 and J. van Kan, *Lijst der oude boeken van de voormalige Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie ter kuste Coromandel 1702-1795*, Bandoeng 1932, pp. 5-9.
5. Cf. W.Ph. Coolhaas, *A critical survey of studies on Dutch colonial history*. 2nd ed.rev. by G.J. Schutte. The Hague 1980, p. 4.
6. J.F. Blumhardt, *British Museum Catalogues. Catalogue of Marathi manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum*. London 1905. *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Library Catalogue First Supplement*, vol. 3. *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Microfilms*. Boston 1968. J.F. Blumhardt and S.G. Kanhere, *Catalogue of the Marāṭhī Manuscripts in the India Office library*. Oxford 1950.
7. 'Catalogue of the Marathi, Urdu, Tamil and English papers in the Raj Records Office Tanjore, showing briefly the nature of the contents only.' Tanjore 1952-3, pp. 593-4.
8. R.S. Shelvankar, *A Report on the Moḍī Manuscripts in the Saraswati Mahal Library*, Tanjore. Madras 1933.
9. K. Thulajarama Rao, 'Preliminary Index for the Hinduve (sic!) Records in the Huzur Record Room.' Tanjore 1940 (incomplete).

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describe the Moḍī records stored there, does not contain any reference to high-level diplomatic documents exchanged with the British or any other foreign power. The original Moḍī documents which were moved from Tanjore to Madras are still kept there. 'Due to irregularities in preservation, the survived records too have suffered considerable damage.'[10] As there is no Moḍī pandit attached to the archives the Moḍī records still preserved are kept under far from satisfactory conditions, and are in no way accessible for research purposes. The only part of the Tanjore records left in an accessible state are the volumes prepared by the Tanjore administration; they contain documents in English and also several copies of Moḍī letters.[11] Copies of some of the Raja's letters are preserved here for the periods 1786-1792, 1792-1801, 1807-1824. Not all are in Moḍī.[12] No one has so far attempted a study of the authentic copies contained in the administrative volumes in Madras.[13]

In the National Archives of India in Delhi a small number of Tanjore Marāṭhī documents are preserved as mentioned by Major Gen. Gadre; they 'voice the grievances of Thanjavur Maratha rajas against the Company's authoritarian act.'[14] 'More than 30 years ago the Bharat Itihasa Samshodak Mandala of Poona participated in the scheme of publishing records in oriental languages in the custody of the National Archives of India and selected 230 documents for editing and publication. This list could be regarded as exhaustive at that time; but ... The Mandala has not yet been able to edit and publish them so far. All these documents are in modi script and the language in some of them is so

10. K. Rajayyan, *A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore*. Mysore 1969, p. 20. My visits to the archives at Egmore were in 1978 and 1979-80; they have confirmed the correctness of this statement.
11. *Guide to the records of the Tanjore District 1749-1835*, 8 vols. Madras 1935-6, describe the contents of the volumes; the guide is not arranged chronologically but according to volume, and many items are described at several places.
12. Cf. entry of 11.9. 1898: 'Raja's Letters. Use of English. From Government. In all his future communications the Raja should use his own language or write as well as he can in English, without the aid of others.' And later, 4.9. 1829: 'The Governor of Madras desires to correspond in future with the Raja in English.'
13. None of the diplomatic letters from Tanjore seem to have ended up in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras; cf. W. Taylor, *A catalogue raisonnée of Oriental Manuscripts in the Government Library*, Madras. Madras 1857-62, vol. 3. T. Chandrasekharan, *Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. Alphabetical index of Marathi mss in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras. Madras 1949 (part 2), and *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Marathi Mss in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras. Madras 1953 Vol. 1.
14. N.H. Kulkarni, 'Source Material in the National Archives of India for the modern history of Maharashtra,' *The Indian Archives*, vol. XXII, January-December 1973, Nos. 1-2, p. 4.

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highly persianised that the East India Company was justified in treating them as part of 'Persian Correspondence'. The period covered by them extends from 1779 to 1829. English translations of most of them are available in the Foreign Department.' (ibid.p.4).

Thus the Danish collection of Tanjore Marāṭhī documents is rare indeed. Their most important feature is the linguistic one.

Organisation of correspondence

Before we enter upon an analysis of the language we may briefly describe the historical and administrative framework of this diplomatic correspondence.

The treaty between Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and Christian IV, King of Denmark and Norway, was concluded on 19th November 1620 through the agency of the Danish admiral Ove Giedde.[15] The original, written on parchment in the Portuguese language, is preserved in the Danish National Archives.[16] It stipulated the conditions for the acquisition of Tranquebar by Denmark and the relations between the two countries. The treaty, initially valid for two years only, was prolonged, and Tranquebar together with some territories acquired later were under Danish administration until they were sold to the English East India Company in 1845. The English occupied Tranquebar from 1801 to 1802 and again from 1808 to 1815. During the dispute which the first occupation brought about between Tanjore and Denmark, it was found that the treaty kept in Tanjore was lost.[17] Together with the treaty, Raghunātha Nāyaka issued a letter of friendship incised on a plate of pure gold; this letter is also preserved in the Danish National Archives and seems to be the only extant Indian diplomatic letter of that type on gold; samples on baser metals are numerous.[18]

The treaty was formally concluded between the Danish king/governor of

15. L. Laursen, *Traités du Danemark et de la Norvège. Danmark-Norges Traktater 1523-1750 med dertil hørende aktstykker*, Bd. III. København 1916, nr. 23, pp. 360-6.
16. C. Rise Hansen, *Guides to the Sources for the History of the Nations. 3. Sources of the History of North Africa, Asia and Oceania in Scandinavia. I. The Danish National Archives*. München 1980, p. 231 Treaty Collection. Inventory: Registratur 14, pp. 504-7, No. 5; because of a misprint, the date of the treaty is given as 19th Nov. 1621 instead of 1620.
17. *Guide to the Records of the Tanjore District 1749-1835*. 8 vols. Madras 1935-6; entry of 25.2. 1803: 'The original grant seems to have been destroyed at the time of the succession of Pratap Sing to the throne.'
18. C. Rise Hansen, op.cit.ibid. no. 4.

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During the Marāṭha reign it was the practice for the high-level correspondence between Tanjore and Tranquebar to be carried out in Marāṭhī and the rest in Tamil.[19] Letters from the Danish governors to King Śeraphoji II were in some cases written in English instead.[20] The high-level letters in Marāṭhī were sent in sets of three, one from the king to the governor, one from the king's minister to the governor, and one from the king's minister to the equivalent Tranquebar 'minister' and vice versa; the principle was that the king wrote on golden flecked soft paper to the governor, whereas the king's minister used silver flecked soft paper to the governor but rougher handmade whitish paper to his opposite number in Tranquebar.[21] In actual correspondence, however,

19. Parts of this correspondence in Tamil are also preserved in the Danish National Archives and a few other collections; see Rise Hansen, op.cit. p. 16.

20. That English won a position as the court language next to Marāṭhī is evidenced by a few other letters preserved, e.g. RA AsK 1381, N⁰ 161: '*Ajam Akarum Bansafur Court Denmark Bandar Trangumbady Governormentanthe ashanarah* Christian Bluhme *yansee, Mogabut Akalasa Dustagaha Ankee Vajarut Maub Ramojee Serjee Row Gantikeh yanee Salam* You will be pleased to write of your Health knowing from hence of our Joy. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 27th May last, wherein you say that the *Cirkar Vakeel* Stationed at Tranquebar refuses to deliver the Letters dispatched from His Highness *The Maha Rajah Chatterputy Sahib* and by myself unless they were received with a salute of Guns, and then you add Sentiments on the subject. As it is not my Desire to enter so minutely on all what were written in your Letter, I have only to inform you that the Letters from His Highness *The Maha Rajah Chatterputy* should at all times, as was custom hitherto be received by the Governor *Sahib* with the due Honor and mark of Respects: but it being chiefly the wish of The Governor to moderate the Expences, I should advise that henceforward the Letters on business be interchanged without ceremony between the Governor *Sahib* and myself. *Mogam* Fort Tanjore. What can I say more? 13th July 1825.' The contemporary Marāṭhī spellings (nos. 50, 62 & 51 respectively) are: *ajama ăkarama dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka baṃdara tarakaṃbăḍi gaunaramemṭāṃta ăsaṇāra yāṃsi mohabăta yekhalāsa dastagāhā aji* (misplaced *Ankee = aki) vajārata māba rāmoji sarjye rāva ghāṃṭake yāṃniṃ salāma ... mokāma ...*

21. These qualities of paper were called *sonerī aphajāna kāgada, rūperī aphajāna kāga-*

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21. These qualities of paper were called *sonerī aphajāna kāgada, rūperī aphajāna kāga-*

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white paper was more commonly used; the few silver flecked letters have turned to black, whereas the golden flecked ones have remained as such. Towards the end of the period of correspondence various ornaments were introduced, which were most often floral with golden flecks. The scribe used to write on top of the flecks; in one instance the gold comes not in flecks or patches but in rhomboid plates which are put on top of the letter after it has been written (no. 48). For more administrative details on (Tanjore) Marāṭha correspondence, see Surendranath Sen: The Administrative system of the Marathas, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1925, p. 657 ff. and R.S. Shelvankar: A Report of the Moḍī mss in the Saraswati Mahal Library Tanjore, Madras 1933, p. 7 ff. The state of preservation of the documents is on the whole very good; the old documents are no worse than the later; the case is rather the opposite.

The documents presented here, although few in number and representing the entire correspondence rather haphazardly, do nevertheless reflect the history of the region. To reach a satisfactory evaluation of the historical importance of the Tanjore-Tranquebar relationship as shown in the mutual correspondence, one would need to include at least the rest of the correspondence as it is preserved in contemporary translations into Danish (and German). For information concerning this and related material see Rise Hansen, Sources. The translations are written in a Gothic hand which is very difficult to read. The most representative series of translations preserved cover the years between 1735 and 1778. These translations have helped to date the documents in those cases when the envelope carrying the date has not been preserved. From 1778 to 1844 there are some very important lacunae. For precisely that period the material preserved in the administrative volumes and other records in Madras can fill some of the gaps in our knowledge about the Tanjore-Tranquebar correspondence and relationship.[22]

Historical background

This study does not include the translated material and the other source material which might make the picture of the Tanjore-Tranquebar relations more or

da and *kharaḍā* respectively. The word *aphajāna* should be a corrupt spelling of *habasāna* 'Abyssinian', since Moors from Abyssinia were instrumental in introducing that quality of paper. I owe the names of the qualities of paper to A. Krishnaswami Mahadick Rao Sahib, B.A., Tanjore and the explanation of *aphajāna* to Prof. S.G. Tulpule.

22. *Calendar of a Volume containing Notifications* (1779-1824). Danish Records Serial No. I, Madras 1908 and *Catalogue of Danish Records*, Madras Records Office, Madras 1952.

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less complete; therefore it will suffice here to give such comments as are needed to make the contents of the documents intelligible in their historical context.

Seen from the Tanjore angle, the letters fall into three groups, viz. nos. 1 to 13, dated from 1725 to 1766, nos. 14 to 34, dated from 1776 to 1799, and nos. 35 to 62, dated from 1802 to 1844. The three periods are (1) the years of Tanjore's (relative) independence of the British and consequent involvement with several local Indian powers as well as with the Dutch, French and British; (2) the years of Tanjore's status as a British protectorate and (3) the period of British annexation.

No original documents from the early years of the Marāṭha reign in Tanjore are extant. Contemporary translations into Danish or German of letters concerning the payment of the annual tribute and the receipts issued by the Tanjore king's treasury have been copied later, probably in Tranquebar, and such copies, now in the National Archives, have been preserved from the time of the first Marāṭha kings of Tanjore (RA AsK 2183 a). There may be some original translations among them. The earliest (original or later) translation is dated 1676. The length and wording of the translated receipts seem to be very close to the first original Marāṭhī document preserved, i.e. the receipt issued by the treasury of King Śaraphoji (I) of Tanjore in 1725. Other translations from the early years are also preserved but they are on the whole in too precarious a state of preservation to be utilised. It is from the following decade that such material is available on a larger scale, reflecting the pattern of correspondence between Tanjore and Tranquebar. The first original letter is, however, a few years later, and is dated 1741.

The question of the district wardens was on the face of it a local one; it assumed, however, a vital importance in an area where allegiance shifted constantly and war was the order of the day. Tanjore's and Tranquebar's respective stands on this point are expressed in letters from 1741, 1759, 1764 to 1766 and 1779 (nos. 2, 6, 11, 13 and 17). The tone is calm in nos. 2, 11 and 13 which are written at a time when some (temporary) settlement had been reached. The two other letters show how touchy the question was and how vehement the Tanjore court could get when the appointment of district wardens was not under its control. Document no. 12 belongs thematically to this group. The dispute which particularly concerned the post of warden of the northern district led to the only battle fought between Tranquebar and Indian forces, in 1756 (known to historians as 'the battle at the pagoda'; cf. document no. 6). The short letter from 1753 (no.4) from King Pratāpasiṃha to the Danish governor is not written on the golden flecked soft paper which rules of etiquette prescribed but on ordinary rougher white paper, and its modest size and down-to-earth style is in sharp contrast with the importance which the contents had for the Danes. They had done their utmost, diplomatically and otherwise, to acqu-

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ire more territory from Tanjore as well as to win better rights, e.g. of coinage, but the result concerning the first point was in the end a refusal (cf. also no. 6). The Danes had referred to English acquisitions from Tanjore as an argument in their favour. Tanjore used a similar argument when, in extremely threatening terms, it pressed Tranquebar to pay more than one year's tribute 'because (the Dutch) at Nagapattinam, when asked to bring the tribute for four or five years, have agreed to it' (no. 6), dated 1759. The Tanjore threat that 'the business (of the Danes) could altogether have been nullified so that not even a loin string was left' (no.6) was realistic enough. Tranquebar's connection with Tanjore's current enemy, the French, and the capture and pillage of Nagore in 1758 are described in vivid terms. The views put forward concerning the bad Danish governor are correct, when seen from the Danish side too.

The rivalry between the French and the English, and the position of Tanjore at various stages of that rivalry is also reflected in the following two documents, nos. 7 and 8, dated 1762. They are the only ones to express the serious wish of the King of Tanjore to seek advice from the Danes at Tranquebar concerning the political situation in South India. The letters are written at the end of February or the beginning of March when Mohammad Ali had just joined forces with the English against Tanjore.

Document no. 9 is dated 12th March 1764, no less than three months after the new king, Tuḷajā, had ascended to the throne; the Dutch in the neighbouring Nagapattinam had already received the same confirmation of the cowle on 24th January 1764.[23] This seems to illustrate the relative unimportance of Tranquebar, when seen with the eyes of the Tanjore court. The Danish governor had already sent a delegation to congratulate the king on his ascending the throne; cf. document no. 10, received 18.3.1764.

Thus in the first period represented in our material, i.e. from 1725 to 1766, Tranquebar's position was very weak vis-à-vis Tanjore, which was itself constantly involved with much stronger European and Indian forces. During these years the Danes reorganised the trade based on Tranquebar and other trading posts in Asia, and it is in the following period that the commerce reaches its peak.[24]

In the intermediary period, from 1764 to 1776, which is not represented in our material, Mohammad Ali had proved too strong an ally for the British in the struggle for power over Tanjore. After the East India Company's troops had helped him to conquer Tanjore and take the Marāṭha king prisoner in September 1773, opposition to the Company's arrangements grew in England

23. F.W. Stapel (ed.), *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum*. 6. deel 1753-1799. Haag 1955, p. 239.

24. O. Feldbaek, *India Trade under the Danish Flag 1772-1808*. SIAS Monograph Series no. 2, Copenhagen 1969.

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and in April 1776 the Company was forced to restore the throne to King Tuḷajā.[25]

The following three documents, nos. 14, 15 and 16, reveal the hesitation on the part of the Danes to recognise this historical fact by paying a visit of congratulation to the king. The Danish government was held back from taking such a step because of the huge sums of money which Mohammad Ali owed it for military equipment. The equipment had been ordered while Mohammad Ali was still in control of Tanjore. In 1776 he had no longer any use for the equipment and consequently did not want to take it over and pay for it. It was two years before the Danes paid the visit to Tanjore (no. 16). All the remaining letters of this period, from no. 18 to no. 32, dated from 1779 to 1791, tell of the Tanjore king's constant need of money and the Danes' interest in taking over more land on that account. Even the social disturbances in Tranquebar in the late 1780's, which were openly supported by Tanjore, had to come to a halt because of the precarious financial situation of the Tanjore king.[26]

The wars of the period are not referred to in the letters from Tanjore. The British had now become a permanent third party in Tanjore's relations with Tranquebar. Documents nos. 26, 27 and 28 mention one of the persons who were instrumental in furthering English interests in the area, namely the Danish missionary Chr.F. Schwartz. It was he who played the main role in educating the later King Śeraphoji II. At that time Schwartz had long ceased to work as a Danish missionary in Tranquebar and had moved to Tanjore. There are no other references in the entire material to the Danish mission, whose affairs were always strictly separated from those of the colony and its government.

Illustrative of the relative positions of Tanjore, Tranquebar and the British in this period is a complaint which the debt-ridden king sent 'To the (English) Governor and council. The Raja complains that the Dutch (sic!) at Tranquebar no longer treat him with the respect they owe him "and which in former times they did not dare to deviate from" and requests the assistance of the Company to maintain his "power and authority". The Resident points out that in regard to this matter, the Raja's claim is not founded in any existing treaty but on the established usage'.[27]

The English gradually strengthened their grip on Tanjore, making the king sign treaty after treaty until the final annexation in October 1799. This second period is thus characterised by a constant weakening of the Tanjore king's

25. K. Rajayyan, *A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore*, Mysore 1969, p. 72 ff.
26. E. Strandberg, 'A Tanjore Marāṭhī letter in Moḍī script to Chr. F. Schwartz.' AO 41, 1980, 17-25.
27. *Guide to the Records of the Tanjore District 1749-1835*, entry of 3.3. 1786. The Danes were often by mistake referred to as the Dutch, but Tranquebar and other cities, e.g. Nagapattinam, were not mixed up.

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power and authority, and a strengthening of the Danish position as far as trade and economy were concerned.

The English had not much reason to be favourably disposed towards the trading and other activities carried out from the Danish territory in India. Events in European history further prompted the English occupation of Tranquebar from 1801 to 1802 and again from 1808 to 1815. From then onwards Tranquebar entirely lost its economic importance, and there were attempts to bring about a sale of the Indian territories to the English more than twenty years before it eventually took place in 1845.

Seen from the point of view of the Tanjore kings, Tranquebar was still of some importance.[28] The king had become a de facto prisoner of the English and he therefore regarded the Danes in Tranquebar as potential helpers in circumventing the severe restrictions imposed on him. Such restrictions were in force even before the treaty of 1799. King Śeraphoji in October 1798 '(1) requests the sanction of government for a visit of ceremony proposed to be paid on behalf of the Tranquebar Government to congratulate the Raja. (2) Permission is granted but the Raja ought not to have communicated with foreign States without the permission of Government.'[29] Similar disapproval by the English of the king's direct contacts with Tranquebar can be found as late as in 1823, as can be seen from the comments below concerning document no. 48. The Tanjore king was no doubt sincere when he expressed joy at the restoration of Tranquebar to the Danes after the British occupation in 1801 and 1802 (documents no. 35 and 36). The ensuing disagreement concerning the payment of arrears of the tribute was settled by the renewed involvement of the English. They asked the king for evidence to support his claims on the arrears. It is interesting to note that when that evidence was received, the English in Madras had to state that they were unable to find 'a proper person to translate the Mahratta papers forwarded by the Raja; they should be translated at Tanjore';[30] it was probably the Moḍī script which caused the problem. The question of the arrears is discussed in nos. 37, 38 and 39.

Document no. 46, dated 2.4. 1806, contains the statement that 'about the behaviour of Major Mühldorf and of Mr. Øvre shown to the government you will certainly know.' Only ten days later we find in the records of the Tanjore administration that 'Lord William Bentinck (is) observing that the office of mediator of the Danish Government at Tranquebar at the Court of Tanjore has been in existence for a long time, being filled by Lt.-Col. Mühldorf and later by

28. Since this phase of the relations between Tanjore and Tranquebar has not received much attention from the historians, a somewhat fuller account of it is given below.

29. *Guide to the Records*, letters dated 9.10. 1798 and 18.10. 1798 respectively from and to the king.

30. *Guide to the Records*, entries of February 1803.

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Mr. Øvre. On the appointment of Mr. Hermonson to act as Governor of Tranquebar a native vackeel and Mr. Holkier the Governor's son-in-law (chosen to succeed Mr. Øvre) were sent to wait upon the Raja ... The Resident believes that the Raja has no concern either directly or otherwise in the nomination of the mediator who is an officer of the Danish Government appointed for the sole interest and convenience of that Government. The Raja's Government has no other communication or intercourse with him than what is purely official and the Resident is assured that "an extra official" dealing with this officer never existed.'[31] What this extra official was supposed by the king to do is revealed in our correspondence by the change in annual presents sent from the king to Tranquebar.[32] 'From the Resident. 1. States that it is advisable to obtain the previous sanction of Government before making any change in the nature of the presents given by the Raja to the Danish authorities at the time of demanding the annual peshcush (tribute). From the Raja. 2. Accepts the Resident's advice. He states that no great alteration has been made except that of increasing the number of shawls to a fourth pair at the request of the Danish Government. The name of the person for whom it is intended will be ascertained from the vakil.'[33] 'To the Chief Secretary. Reports that in the place of three "khiluts" (robes of honour) the raja desired to present four pairs of shawls. The real reason for making this alteration was kept from the Resident though it finally was divulged by the indiscretion of the Sirkeel. The Raja seems to have an idea of procuring the articles he wants from Europe through the Danish gentlemen at Tranquebar.'[34] The original correspondence on the issue takes up seven pages in the volumes of the Tanjore administration. That the 'Sirkeel' had some interest in the affair became clear to the Danish governor as well. The following year the affair continued: 'To the Chief Secretary. Forwards the letters exchanged by the Raja and the Danish Government regarding the tribute. The Governor's letter is addressed to Sivaji Raja. The Resident was not apprised of this change which was made by the Raja's directions. The shawls presented this year were of inferior value and have been disapproved by the Governor of Tranquebar.'[35] Two months later it is settled: 'To the Chief Secretary. Forwards the letters which passed between the Sirkeel and the Governor of Tranquebar regarding the shawls. The Governor has agreed to continue to receive the present of shawls, provided the Sirkeel personally inspects them before sending them to Tranquebar.'[36] The episode seems to

31. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 12.4. 1806.
32. Reminders nos. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46 as against nos. 49, 50, 53-8 and 60-2.
33. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 14.9. 1819.
34. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 8.10. 1819.
35. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 24.10. 1820.
36. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 14.12. 1820.

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imply that even the king's prime minister was the English government's man.

The letters to which document no. 48, dated 16.3. 1823, was a reply gave cause for strong disapproval: 'To the Chief Secretary. Informs him that the Danish Governor has sent two letters directly to the Raja on the subject of a house offered to the Raja for sale and the other relating to certain information required for adjusting caste disputes in Tranquebar. This practice is unusual and is highly objectionable.'[37]

The Danish governors had been told to reduce expenses as much as possible. As can be seen in footnote no. 20 one measure was to abolish the salute with which letters from Tanjore were traditionally received at Tranquebar. Steps to abolish the embassy in connection with the annual payment of the tribute were taken in the mid-1820's. The proposal met with fierce opposition both from the sarakhela and the king: 'it is against the usage and the tribute is a mark of respect due to the Raja and one which he is entitled to receive in his grand darbar (hall of audience) on the last day of the Dusserah.'[38] The Danish governor refers to the treaty of 1620 where no mention is made of such formalities. The reply from Tanjore is simply that 'the vakil will be sent as usual to demand the peshcush (tribute) ... the treaty referred to was not made in the time of the ancestors of the Raja.'[39] As can be seen from our reminders, the practice of delivering the tribute at the Dusserah festival was kept until the very last.

On the occasion of the death of king Śeraphoji the issue was again raised because 'the payment would have been stopped as soon as the Raja (Śeraphoji) ceased to have any authority in the province were it not for a feeling of courtesy towards an old Regent, who had as long as in his power, fulfilled his and his predecessor's agreement with the Danes.'[40] The Danish governor envisaged stopping altogether the payment of any tribute.

The ceremonial surrounding the payment of the (Tranquebar) tribute seems also to have been a thorn in the flesh of the English. Already in 1802 they had suggested that it be stopped but 'as the discontinuance of offering complimentary presents on days of public festival, particularly those of Dasara, is attended with circumstances imperious to the feelings of the Raja of Tanjore, the Collector is asked to attend at the Durbar on those days with presents worth less than Rs. 2,000.'[41] Against the background of such formal humiliation of the king's feelings it is understandable that the payment of the annual tribute from Tranquebar assumed a considerable importance both for himself and vis-à-vis his subjects. Throughout the volumes of the Tanjore administration one

37. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 22.2. 1823.
38. *Guide to the Records*, several entries in October 1825.
39. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 11.10. 1825.
40. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 15.3. 1832.
41. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 5.4. 1802.

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can find references such as 'The Raja received in Durbar all the public officers in the usual manner. The tribute from Tranquebar was also laid at his feet on this occasion. He was immensely gratified by the show of respect from the persons present.'[42] As no other tribute is mentioned in this connection, that paid by the Danes must have been the only one he still received. The special circumstances of the ceremony go back to the practice in Mahārāṣṭra. The 'Dusserah' festival was celebrated in the normal manner in Poona and it was here as elsewhere among the Hindu rulers considered fortunate to begin a war after the Dusserah, which was the celebration of the victory obtained by Rāma over the giant Rāvaṇa.[43]

Viscount Valentia has the following remark on the ceremony: 'At Poona, however, an addition is made, which is not ordered by any of their (shanscrit) books. The Paishwa receives a number of leaves from the bough, which he gives to his followers, and which they interchange, in imitation of the monkeys. His Highness afterwards holds a durbar, where nazurs (presents) of, from two to five, gold mohurs (name of coin) are presented, and in return he gives each a leaf. He also sends Khelauts and leaves to the Rajah of Sattarah, and Scindiah. The Brahmin could not say that there was any motive for, or effect assigned to, the exchange of leaves. I should suppose it was a kind of compact that they would assist each other in their approaching warfare.'[44] Warfare between on the one hand the king of Tanjore and the Danes at Tranquebar and on the other a common enemy was of course extremely improbable throughout the last period which the receipts and many reminders cover, i.e. from 1802 to 1844.

The third period of correspondence is thus characterised by a strong interest in formalities on the part of the Tanjore kings, and a keenness to reduce their costs on the part of the Danes. Both things are due to the supreme authority of the English who had deprived the Tanjore king of his power and authority and prevented the Danes from making profit on trade from posts in India. It is only natural that the two suppressed parties would assist each other in small matters of common interest whenever possible. It is therefore perhaps not so surprising that regret was expressed both by the Indians and the Danes in Tranquebar at the sale of this and other Danish territories in India to the English East India Company in 1845.

Only ten years later, at the death of King Śivāji in 1855, the English East India Company put an end to Marāṭha rule in Tanjore.

42. *Guide to the Records*, entry of 13.10. 1818.

43. For the practice of starting a campaign after the Dusserah, see our document no. 29 from Poona.

44. Viscount Valentia (George) *Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon etc.*, Vol. II. London 1809, p. 119.

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Marāṭha Kings of Tanjore.[45]

Vyaṃkoji	1674/1676-1684/1686
Śahāji	1684/1686-1712
Śaraphaji	1712-1728
Tukoji	1728-1736
Various rulers	1736-1739/1742
Pratāpasiṃha	1739/1742-1763
Tuḷajā	1763-1773, 1776-1787
Amarasiṃha	1787-1798
Śeraphoji (II)	1798-1832
Śivāji	1832-1855

Governors of Tranquebar[46]

The fortress Dansborg at Tranquebar established in 1620. In 1777 the Danish crown took possession of the colony. 1801-02 and 1808-15 occupied by British forces. In 1845 sold to the British East India Company.

1620-1621	Ove Giedde
1621-1636	Roland Crappé
1636-1643	Bernt Pessart
1643-1648	Willum Leyel
1648-1655	Poul Hansen Korsør
1655-1669	Eskild Andersen Kongsbakke
1669-1673	Henrik Eggers
1673-1682	Sivert Adeler
1680	Peter Bladt
1681-1686	Axel Juel
1686-1687	Wolf Heinrich Kalnein (Calneyn)
1687-1689	Christian Porck
1690	Mourids Hartmann
1690-1694	Christian Porck
1694-1701	Claus Voigt
1701	Andreas Andrae

45. I use the Marāṭhī spellings as they occur in the documents and for the rest of the names I use the Marāṭhī spellings available to me in D.B. Parasnis, *Taṃjāvaracem̥ rājagharaṇem̥*. Bombay 1912. The final *-ji* is so written in Moḍī (for *-jī* and *-jī*), but in Devanāgarī *-jī* which is correct in Poona Marāṭhī. Uncertainty concerning the precise year of a change of rule is marked by /.

46. Rise Hansen, *Sources* p. 703.

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1701-1702	Mikkel Knudsen Crone
1702-1704	Jørgen Hermansen Bjørn
1704-1716	Johan Sigismund Hassius (Lillienpalm)
1716-1720	Christen Brun Lundegaard
1720-1726	Christian Ulrich v. Nissen
1726-1730	Rasmus Hansen Attrup
1730-1733	Diderich Mühlenfort
1733-1741	Paul Krisk Panck
1741-1744	Ivar Bonsach
1744	Carsten Carstensen
1744-1754	Hans Ernst Bonsach
1754-1759	Hans Georg Krog
1759	Peter Henrich Meyer
1759-1760	Christian Frederik Høyer
1760-1761	Herman Jacob Forck
1761-1775	Peter Herman Abbestée
1775-1779	David Brown
1779-1783	Herman Abbestée
1783-1785	Friderich Johan Peter v.Lichtenstein
1785-1786	Peter Herman Abbestée
1786	Adolf Friderich Restorff
1786-1788	Peter Herman Abbestée
1788-1801	Peter Anker
1801-1802	British occupation
1802-1806	Peter Anker
1806-1808	Peter Hermanson
1808-1815	British occupation
1815-1816	Gerhard Sievert Bille
1816-1822	Peter Hermanson
1822-1823	Jens Koefoed
1823-1825	Ulrich Anthon Schønheyder
1825-1829	Hans Diderik Brinch-Seidelin
1829-1832	Lauritz Christensen
1832-1838	Konrad Emil Mourier
1838-1841	Johannes Rehling
1841	Christian Tiemroth
1841-1845	Peter Hansen

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Chapter 1

The Moḍī script, its origin, use and abolition

The name Moḍī is most commonly explained as being derived from *moḍa(m)*, 'broken or routed state'; in casu, of the script namely, 'the *Moṛ* or common business character of the Marāṭhī' (Molesworth, s.v.). Thus Moḍī seems to be a modification of Bālabodha, the Marāṭha version of Devanāgarī. As a comparison between the two shows, the modification consisted in making Bālabodha cursive, allowing the hand to run on without stopping to turn backwards, which Bālabodha requires. Thus Moḍī is a more practical faster-running script and it is precisely for business and other worldly matters that it was used, whereas Bālabodha was used for literary and religious purposes. Thus records and correspondence, both private and official, were written in the Moḍī script.

The question of when it was introduced is as yet unsettled. Some ascribe the origin of Moḍī to the court of Śivājī, whose secretary of state, Bālājī Avajī, had come to know the script used in Delhi for writing Persian. Finding it faster to write than the only script hitherto used for Marāṭhī, Bālabodha, he modified this on the principles of the script used for Persian administration at the Moghul courts. In true Indian fashion, legends are told of the precise circumstances in which Bālājī Avajī introduced what came to be known as Moḍī.[1]

As can be seen from Molesworth's explanation of *moḍa* quoted above, Moḍī could be heard as Morī. This could be understood as a derivation from Moor in the sense of Persian, and Moḍī could simply be an Indian version of a script used for Persian. This explanation is no longer accepted.

The question of the origin of the Moḍī script may also be considered from the Persian point of view.[2] The scripts used for Persian are Nastaliq, the clear form of handwriting, and Shikasta, which is derived from the former and was probably invented for the sake of quick transcription. Shikasta is a sort of shorthand writing with the main features of each letter retained. Shikasta means 'broken' and the name Moḍī could therefore be a literal translation of the Persian name. The Nastaliq of Marāṭhī would consequently be Bālabodha. That Śivājī and Marāṭhas before him should have been under the influence of

1. B.A. Gupte, 'The Moḍī Character.' IA 34, 1905, 27-30.
2. Moulvī ʿAbdul Haq, 'The influence of Persian on Mahrathi.' IC 10, 1936, 553-609 (esp. 606-7).

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the writing practices of Persian when writing Marāṭhī seems not unlikely. It has been established that Moḍī was used before Śivājī's time.[3] A theory has been put forward that Moḍī might have been introduced to Maharashtra from the South, Laṅkā and Rameswaram, and a myth has grown up to strengthen the suggestion: Hemāḍpant, a minister of the rulers of Devagiri, went to Laṅkā with Rāvaṇa and he brought back on his return to India many valuable articles including the art of writing Moḍī. The fact is that Marāṭhī-speaking settlers in Rameswaram have left Moḍī documents as evidence of their presence there; the legend that the script travelled from Laṅkā via Rameswaram to Maharashtra was thus easy to invent.[4] The information given about Tanjore's role in the introduction and spread of Moḍī is not very clear.[5]

One version of the legend about the origin of Moḍī gives a slight variation in the purpose of this particular sort of script. It is said that the minister Hemāḍpant adopted Moḍī for use in the state administration so that state secrets might not leak out.[6] Moḍī is much faster to write than Bālabodha but that causes problems for the recipients; Moḍī was hardly adopted in order to preserve state secrets as suggested, but in effect Moḍī documents could be very difficult for the untrained eye to read. 'It should be borne in mind that the work of transcribing and reading historical Moḍī documents accurately is a task for a skilled transcriber and deciphering of these documents, for a trained scholar and palaeographer.'[7] The difficulty involved when reading Moḍī will be seen to be the main reason for its later abolition by the British authorities.

A very different explanation of the name Moḍī is met with, especially in Indian publications, namely that it is related to Maurya, *mauryī*, and thus Moḍī is a late development of *aśokalipi*, the Brāhmī script.[8]

With the advent of printing the problem of having two scripts for one language arose again. William Carey had the first edition of his Marāṭhī grammar[9]

3. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet. A Key to the History of Mankind*. 3rd ed., London 1968. Vol. 1, pp. 291-2.
4. T. Chandrasekharan (ed.), MGOMS No. 54, *Poona Peṭ Kaifiyat*. Madras 1956, p.V.; B.A. Gupte, 'The Moḍī Character.' IA 34, 1905, 28.
5. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, p. 292.
6. T. Chandrasekharan, MGOMS 54, p. IV-V.
7. M.G. Dikshit, *A descriptive catalogue of the Shahu Daftar papers housed in the Alienation Office*, Poona. Nagpur 1969, Part I, Vol. I, p. VIII.
8. G.K. Candorkar, *Āryalipī. Devanāgarī va mauryī-moḍī yāṃcā udgamakāla va paraspare saṃbaṃdha* ('Devanāgarī and Mauryī-Moḍī, their origin and mutual relation'). Dhuḷe, Śaka 1829 (A.D. 1907). Candorkar's conclusion is categorical, indeed; 'there can be no doubt that Moḍī and Brāhmī are in their origin one and the same script' (p. 63). This theory is not accepted by Western scholars.
9. *Grammar of the Mahratta Language to which are added Dialogues on familiar subjects*, by W. Carey, Serampore. Printed at the Mission Press 1805.

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printed in the Devanāgarī script because types in the Moḍī character had not yet been cast in Bengal. The two subsequent editions were printed in the Moḍī script because it was the more commonly known script.[10]

The use of Moḍī for practical purposes continued undiminished throughout the 19th century and it is therefore very surprising to see that the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VII, received only one specimen in Moḍī characters (pp. 259-60). That one sample is of an atypical sort since the *akṣaras* (syllables) are written one by one with considerable gaps between them, whereas the point of Moḍī is that the *akṣaras* can be written in one uninterrupted fluent stroke.

It was towards the end of the 19th century that the problem of having two scripts was again debated, especially because Moḍī had become difficult to read. In July 1906 Mr. T.N. Atre put forward a proposal to the Secretary to Government, Education Department, Bombay[11] 'that (1) Modi should be used exclusively for writing purposes in primary schools; (2) that stops should be used; (3) that the words should not be run into one another; (4) that marks should be introduced to distinguish short from long vowels.' Mr. Atre explained in detail the necessity of introducing these four changes to Moḍī and added a list of 103 names of persons supporting him in his proposal. Of the 103 names 3 are English and 100 Indian. As the history of the Moḍī script is not dealt with in any Western publication and the evidence about its use and abolition is hard to come by, we quote in some detail the statements and arguments put forward on that occasion.

The reactions to Mr. Atre's first point were favourable. It was, however, felt by some people that handwritten Bālabodha should not be left out of primary schools altogether, provided that it too was legible. 'The necessities of the cursive or running hand are so imperative that the Balbodh which is used for writing purposes by women and writers for the press has already become illegible ... the Balbodh and the Modi should be treated in our Marathi schools as the Roman printed character and the cursive are in English schools. The Modi should always be used for writing purposes.'[12] 'I think therefore that all work such as taking notes in the class, home exercises and answering examination papers should be in Modi. In the case of the last item, however, I would propose one exception, namely that in answering language papers as such, Balbodh should be used in giving explanation of poetical passages and gram-

10. For details concerning the use of Moḍī and the early printing presses in India (two of the important ones being on Danish territory in Tranquebar and Serampore), see A.K. Priolkar's study, *The Printing Press in India. Its beginnings and early development.* Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, Bombay 1958.
11. IOR P/8031. *Bombay Presidency Education Proceedings 1908*, pp. 675-686, referring also to earlier discussions of the topic in 1864 and 1884.
12. R.G. Bhandarkar in IOR p. 682.

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matical questions'[13]... 'Balbodh however should not in my opinion be entirely banished from schools ..., especially as these schools serve as feeders to Secondary Schools, where Balbodh is necessary for writing out Sanskrit answers.'[14]

The reactions to the proposed changes (2), (3) and (4) were less favourable. Some felt the need of distinguishing clearly between *akṣaras* with long and short *i* and *u*, while others thought that such changes would hamper the speed of writing which was the main advantage of Moḍī. 'Modi letters are derived from Balbodha letters and are imperfect and in many instances ambiguous. The principal recommendation of Modi characters is their peculiar formation which enables one to write with ease and quickness as many letters as possible without raising the hand or making a pause before completing a line. Viewed from this standpoint of their origin, their defects are more than counterbalanced by the advantage they afford in facility of writing ... Balbodha characters are principally used for the printing of books and newspapers where accuracy have to be carefully attended to; while Modi characters are used for all official and private correspondence and for all commercial and business transactions ... Up to the end of the 18th century, Marathi literature consisted of poetry, old Bakhars and official correspondence. Poetry was written in Balbodha or Devanagari characters while old Bakhars and correspondence were written in Modi. Prose literature as such began a few years after the establishment of British rule in the Maharashtra. An inspection of Modi papers from the Peishwa's Daftur will convince any one that the Modi as written in the pre-English period was bold, elegant and legible and the necessity for the separation of words and punctuation of sentences was never felt. But ... Any attempt to improve the system of Modi writing will be looked upon with disfavour as it will tend to make the system more complicated and ambiguous and thus frustrate the object for which Modi character is devised. Modi writing generally prevails in the Deccan and in parts of the Southern Maratha Country, Gujarath, Central Provinces and the Central India Agency, and is used in correspondence as well as in keeping accounts by people over whom the Department of Public Instruction has little or no control and who will look upon the change with perfect indifference.'[15]

The Resolution, arrived at in April 1908, almost two years after Mr. Atre put forward his proposal, was based mainly on the views held by C.A. Kincaid, District Judge, Poona. The views are crucial since they not only reject the proposal made by Mr. Atre, but at the same time start the process of abolishing

13. K.G. Kelkar in IOR p. 684.
14. M.V. Kirtane in IOR p. 684.
15. Rao Bahdur S.V. Patwardhan in IOR pp. 685-6. For the statement concerning the beginnings of prose literature, see S.G. Tulpule, *Classical Marāṭhī literature*, p. 317 ff.

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Moḍī from public and later also private use. 'In the first place Mr. Atre's suggestion that Government should direct its officers to write in a particular way would, even if it were acted on, as I most respectfully submit, have very little result... There are, however, very grave reasons against accepting Mr. Atre's proposal that Balbodha should be discouraged. Balbodha is the one script which can be used universally. It has been introduced into the United Provinces and into the Central Provinces and recently, as I believe I am right in saying, into Bengal. It could be equally well introduced into Gujarat or where it is indeed occasionally used, into Sind where the first dictionary was printed in Balbodha and where the Baniyas use a character akin to Gujarati and into Kanara ... All women who can write use Balbodha. I have enquired at the Colleges as to the practice prevailing among the students. Mr. Paranjpe of the Fergusson College has informed me that while 216 students write to their fathers in Modi 113 use Balbodha... I have also seen filed in my Court as evidence numerous Balbodha letters. Some of them from sons to fathers, one batch consisted of the love letters of a girl of 15. There is no reason to suppose that they were written with any special care, but their meaning could be grasped at a glance... But from practical experiments which I am at present engaged in making I am inclined to think that Balbodha can be written just as fast as Modi, provided the writer of the former has two or three months' practice and the writer of the latter obeys Government orders and leaves spaces and marks stops. The object therefore which, as I would respectfully suggest, Government should constantly keep before them is the unification of the character throughout this Presidency. Balbodha could, if tact be employed and entire discretion given to each head of the office, be introduced without much difficulty in the Deccan offices and thence spread North and South. The advantages to be gained from the general introduction of Balbodha would be enormous. At the present moment hardly 5 per cent of the European officers can read the vernacular papers which every day they sign by the hundred. Nor is this to be wondered at. I have myself learnt to read with some fluency both Gujarati and Modi. It took me two whole years to learn the former script and nearly three years the latter ... With one script prevailing and that a very easy one the present inability of Government officers to read their vernacular correspondence could soon cease.'[16]

Hereby the government's aim was openly announced and despite opposition[17] the unification was carried out and Bālabodha introduced generally. While Moḍī thus ceased to be used in writing in schools and elsewhere, the university of Poona included reading of Moḍī in its courses in the methodology

16. IOR pp. 675-6.

17. Cf. e.g. N.C. Kelkar's articles in the *Kesarī*, 14. & 21.04. 1914. I owe this reference to Prof. S.G. Tulpule.

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of research. Now, even this practice has stopped so that only a few aged persons of the 'old school' are able to read Moḍī well. Unless their knowledge is soon imparted privately to a new generation the bulk of material in Moḍī, e.g. historical documents, will become a closed chapter to historians, linguists and other interested scholars.[18]

It may be appropriate to add here a few lines on an aspect of the use of the Moḍī script which is not mentioned in Mr. Atre's proposal and the arguments which surround it. In earlier times in Maharashtra it was the custom for the bridegroom to be tested in Moḍī by his would-be father-in-law. I owe the following evidence for this practice and the translation into English to Prof. S.G. Tulpule.[19] Mr. N.C. Kelkar's marriage took place in 1886. 'My *muñja* (investiture with sacred thread) was celebrated in my 8th year and my marriage in my 15th. But I had been hearing about the plans of my marriage since my 13th year. Fortunately, however, I was not required to face the examination or test for the prospective bridegroom more than once. (At least) I remember only one such occasion, when I was required to squat before my would-be father-in-law and write for him *pustī*[20] in Moḍī... I was expected to do this job neatly and without putting my tongue out (as many boys do while writing), without clearing my nose and without getting my fingers coloured by the ink... And I passed the test.' (p. 136)

The knowledge of Moḍī must thus have been considered something useful and necessary. It therefore seems somewhat farfetched when Mr. Kincaid put forward the following extra argument for abolishing the Moḍī script: 'It may perhaps interest Government to know that the other names of Balbodha and Modi are Dewanagri (the heavenly character) and Pisachi lipi (the demon character). The story goes that the sage Hemadpant was carried off by demon to Lanka, but was eventually released. On his departure he asked for a present. He was given three: (1) a seed of Bajri, (2) a bug and (3) the art of writing Modi. Thus one of the gifts was good and two execrable.'[21]

18. An attempt by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃśodhana Maṃḍala, Poona, to conduct classes in Moḍī for prospective researchers met with a good response, but was for technical reasons abandoned. I owe this information to Prof. S.G. Tulpule.
19. N.C. Kelkar, *Gatagoṣṭī – arthāt mājhī jīvanayātrā* ('Things of the past, or My pilgrimage of Life'), ed. by Y.N. Kelkar. Poona 1939, p. 136.
20. 'a paper required from schoolboys, from time to time, exhibiting their progress in writing. Hence An examination,' Molesworth.
21. IOR p. 676.

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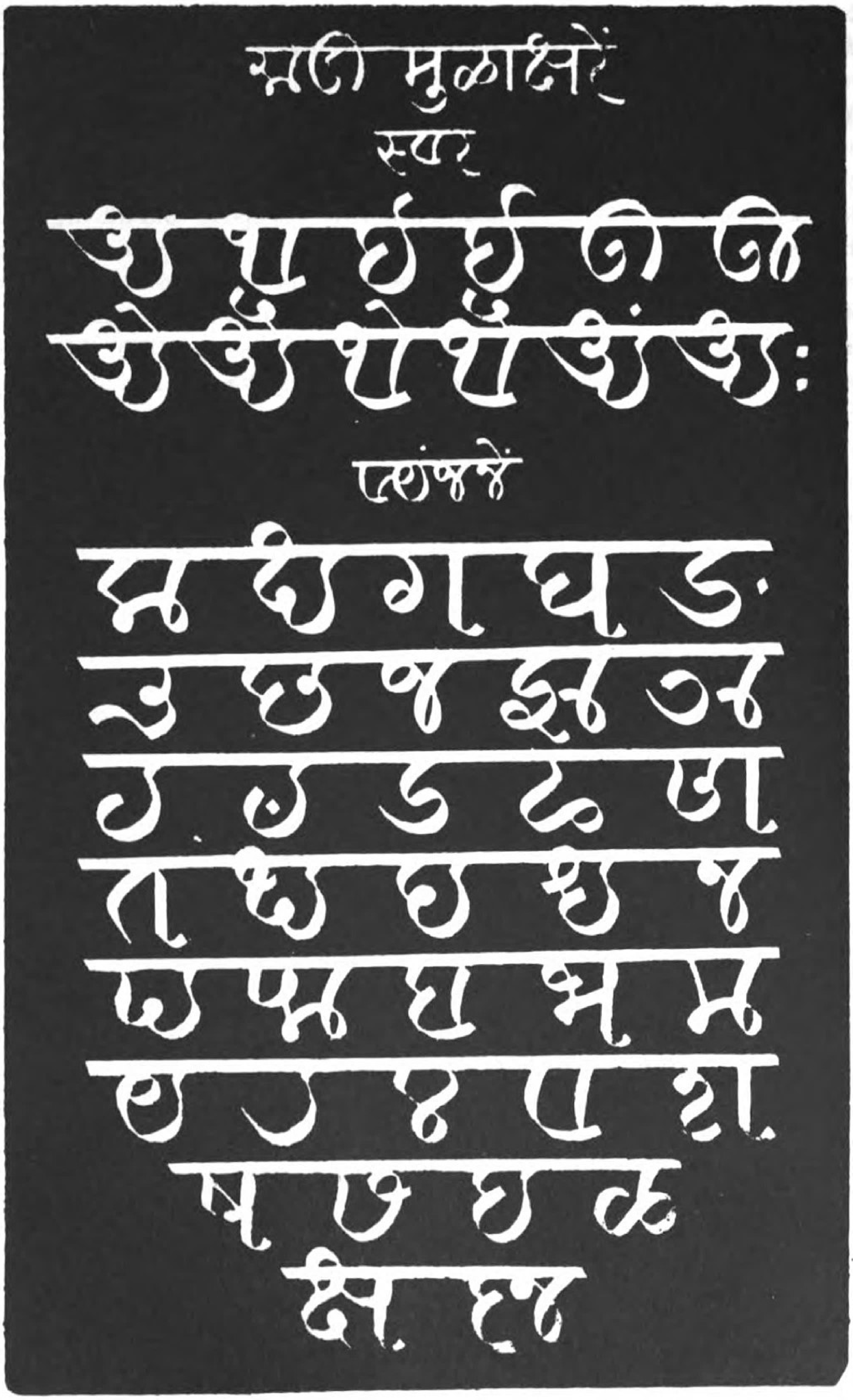

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मूळाक्षरे

[स्वर]

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ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः

[व्यंजने]

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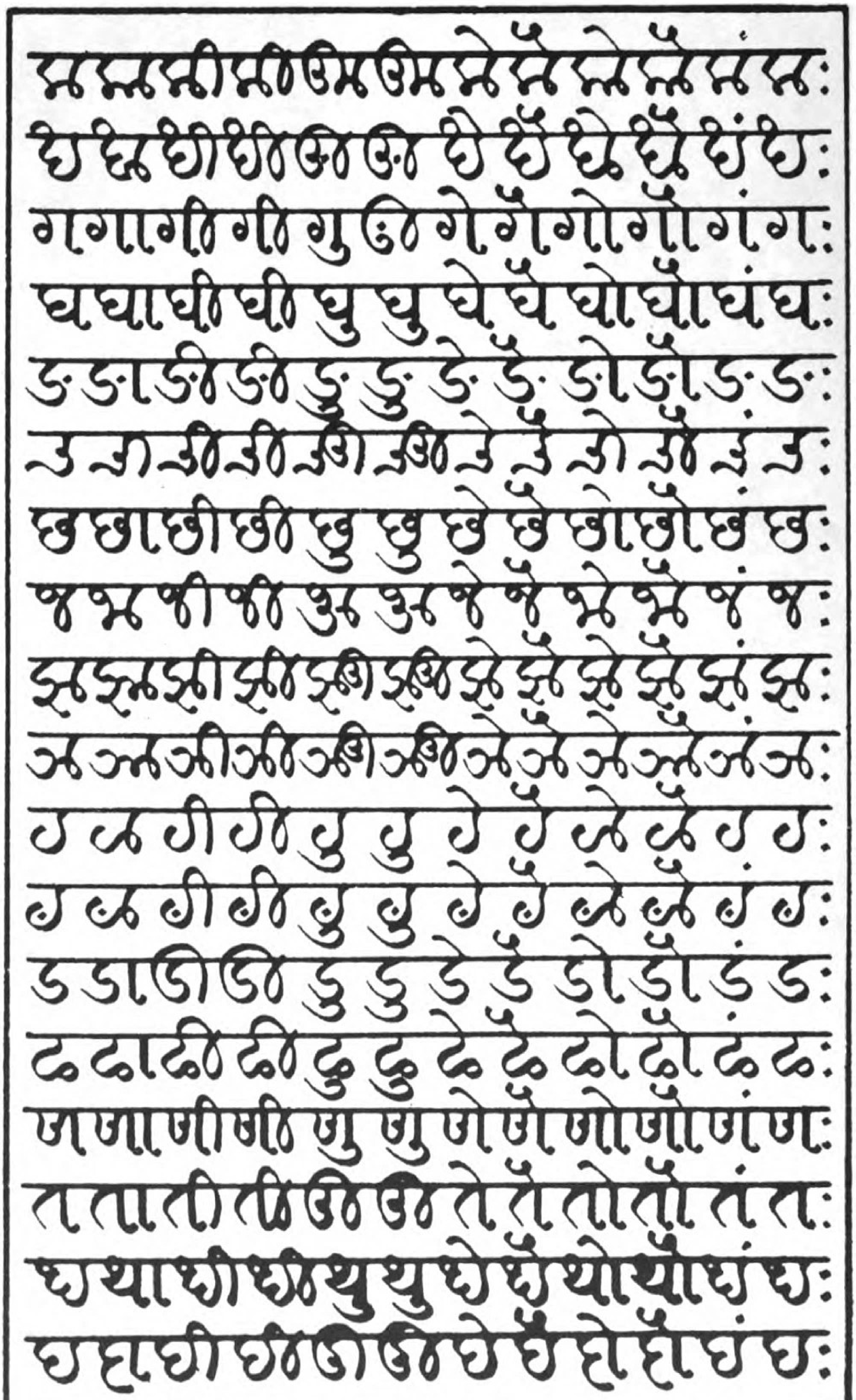

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क	का	कि	की	कु	कू	के	कै	को	कौ	कं	कः
ख	खा	खि	खी	खु	खू	खे	खै	खो	खौ	खं	खः
ग	गा	गि	गी	गु	गू	गे	गै	गो	गौ	गं	गः
घ	घा	घि	घी	घु	घू	घे	घै	घो	घौ	घं	घः
ङ	ङा	ङि	ङी	ङु	ङू	ङे	ङै	ङो	ङौ	ङं	ङः
च	चा	चि	ची	चु	चू	चे	चै	चो	चौ	चं	चः
छ	छा	छि	छी	छु	छू	छे	छै	छो	छौ	छं	छः
ज	जा	जि	जी	जु	जू	जे	जै	जो	जौ	जं	जः
झ	झा	झि	झी	झु	झू	झे	झै	झो	झौ	झं	झः
ञ	ञा	ञि	ञी	ञु	ञू	ञे	ञै	ञो	ञौ	ञं	ञः
ट	टा	टि	टी	टु	टू	टे	टै	टो	टौ	टं	टः
ठ	ठा	ठि	ठी	ठु	ठू	ठे	ठै	ठो	ठौ	ठं	ठः
ड	डा	डि	डी	डु	डू	डे	डै	डो	डौ	डं	डः
ढ	ढा	ढि	ढी	ढु	ढू	ढे	ढै	ढो	ढौ	ढं	ढः
ण	णा	णि	णी	णु	णू	णे	णै	णो	णौ	णं	णः
त	ता	ति	ती	तु	तू	ते	तै	तो	तौ	तं	तः
थ	था	थि	थी	थु	थू	थे	थै	थो	थौ	थं	थः
द	दा	दि	दी	दु	दू	दे	दै	दो	दौ	दं	दः

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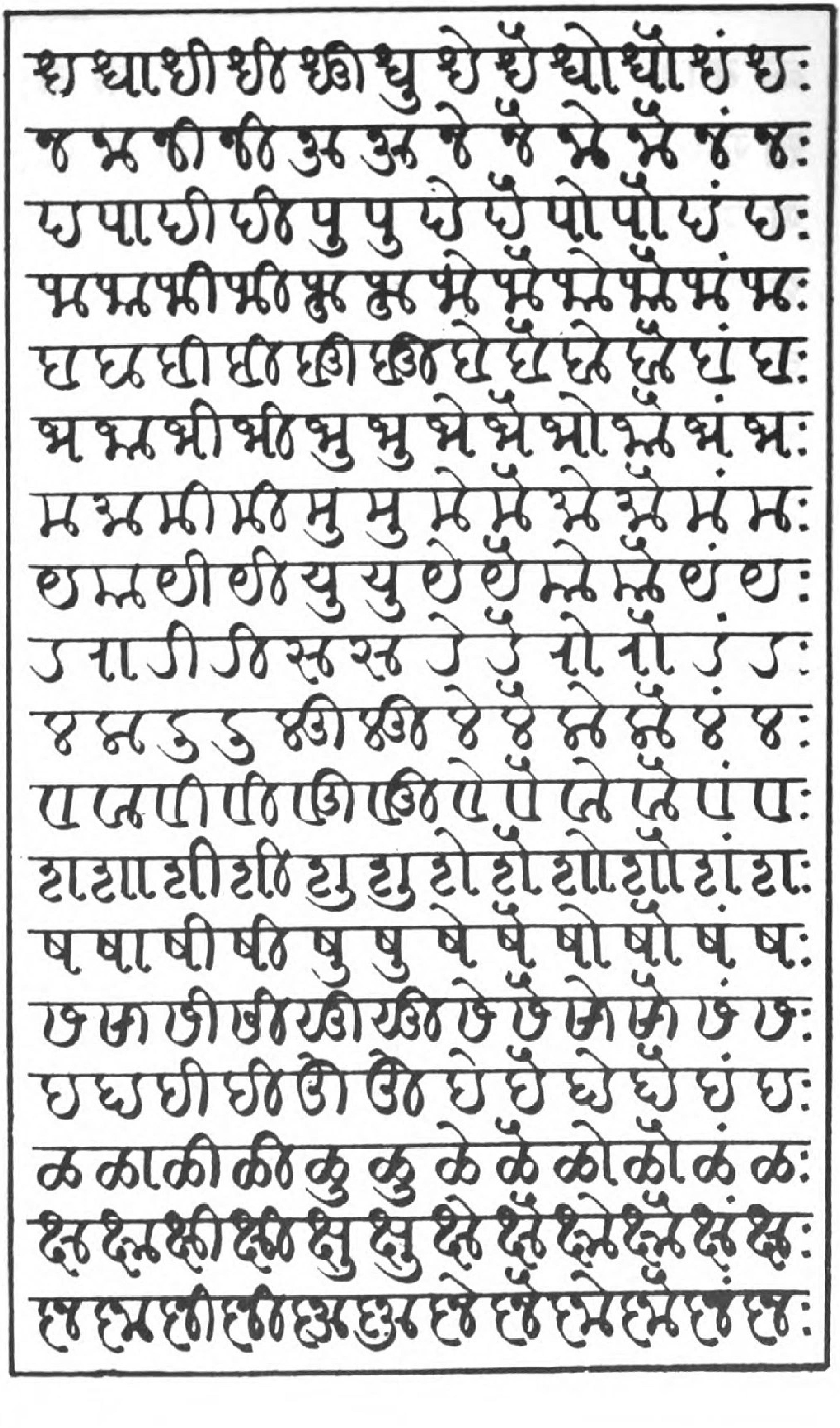

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ध	धा	धि	धी	धु	धू	धे	धै	धो	धौ	धं	धः
न	ना	नि	नी	नु	नू	ने	नै	नो	नौ	नं	नः
प	पा	पि	पी	पु	पू	पे	पै	पो	पौ	पं	पः
फ	फा	फि	फी	फु	फू	फे	फै	फो	फौ	फं	फः
ब	बा	बि	बी	बु	बू	बे	बै	बो	बौ	बं	बः
भ	भा	भि	भी	भु	भू	भे	भै	भो	भौ	भं	भः
म	मा	मि	मी	मु	मू	मे	मै	मो	मौ	मं	मः
य	या	यि	यी	यु	यू	ये	यै	यो	यौ	यं	यः
र	रा	रि	री	रु	रू	रे	रै	रो	रौ	रं	रः
ल	ला	लि	ली	लु	लू	ले	लै	लो	लौ	लं	लः
व	वा	वि	वी	वु	वू	वे	वै	वो	वौ	वं	वः
श	शा	शि	शी	शु	शू	शे	शै	शो	शौ	शं	शः
ष	षा	षि	षी	षु	षू	षे	षै	षो	षौ	षं	षः
स	सा	सि	सी	सु	सू	से	सै	सो	सौ	सं	सः
ह	हा	हि	ही	हु	हू	हे	है	हो	हौ	हं	हः
ळ	ळा	ळि	ळी	ळु	ळू	ळे	ळै	ळो	ळौ	ळं	ळः
क्ष	क्षा	क्षि	क्षी	क्षु	क्षू	क्षे	क्षै	क्षो	क्षौ	क्षं	क्षः
ज्ञ	ज्ञा	ज्ञि	ज्ञी	ज्ञु	ज्ञू	ज्ञे	ज्ञै	ज्ञो	ज्ञौ	ज्ञं	ज्ञः

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In all cases the *akṣara* with short *i* and *u* may also be used for long *i* and *u* and vice versa. Among the variants occurring in our material we may list those which are not so easily recognisable:

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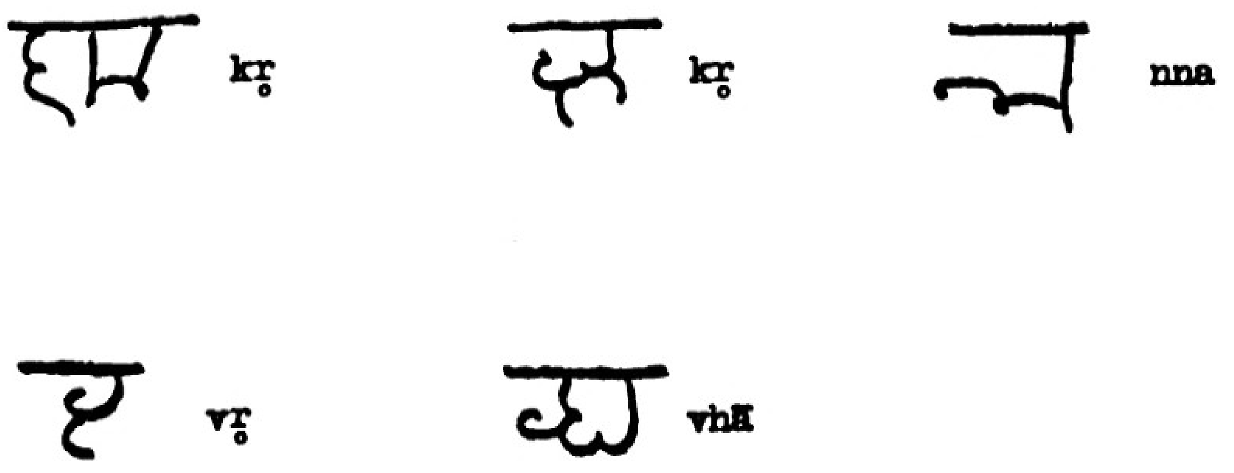
Moreover the following less recognisable ligatures, which are not represented on the charts at all, occur in our material.



Thus the only set of long and short vowels which the Moḍī script clearly distinguishes between is *ă* and *ā*, initial and after a consonant. In our transliteration *i* stands for *ĭ* and *ī*, *u* for *ŭ* and *ū*; *ă* is transliterated as *a* so as not to complicate the transliteration unnecessarily. To *a* and *ā* we have had to add *ǎ̄* for those cases where it has been impossible to tell whether the scribe intended a long or a short *a*. One particular *akṣara* has had to be transliterated throughout with -*ǎ̄*, namely .

At first glance one would take it to represent *bā* since the bar across seems with some scribes to indicate length. Moreover one of the words written with this *akṣara*, the name *bǎ̄bǎ̄ji*, is found on the documents' envelopes stamped in Devanāgarī clearly readable as *bābā*-;[22] this seems to confirm the above-mentioned interpretation.

In no. 62,1.7, however, the word *arbaina* occurs, having *bai*- written with the *akṣara* in question and the extra vowel sign added above; had represented *bā*, the word would have to be read *arbauna*, which does not make sense; thus the transliteration adopted throughout is *bǎ̄*. The numbers used are those known from Devanāgarī, with the following particularities: and both stand for 5 whereas 6 is .

Wherever the graphical representation on the document made it possible, *anusvāra* has been read with the syllable to which it belongs according to the grammars and dictionaries (of Poona Marāṭhī). That the nasalisation may belong to another syllable, often the syllable before that nasalised in the normal Poona Marāṭhī usage, is clearly evidenced by *saṃve* which is split in to *saṃ*- at the end of one line and -*ve* at the beginning of the next (no. 11,1.10-11). The Poona Marāṭhī spelling is *saveṃ*.

22. The stamp on seal is for technical reasons not given on the facsimiles. It is found in RA AsK 1396 (b) 2.

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Seals, śrī, hu and daṇḍas

The Devanāgarī script is used in three instances: in the initial well-wishing syllable *śrī* at the head of a document, in the seals of the King of Tanjore, and in his personal signature. In some cases it is also used in the signature of other letter-writers.

When distinguishable, the seal reads *śrī vīrakaravāsinī* or *śrīpratāpa vīrakaravāsinī* and the King's signature is invariably and very clearly *śrī rāmapratāpa.* I owe the following information about the connection between these phrases and the Marāṭha kings to Prof. S.G. Tulpule. As will be seen in his discussion, he operates with a different word order, namely *karavīranivāsinī.* Since the phrase occurs only on the seals and is thus quite rare, it may be that at a very early stage of the Marāṭha reign in Tanjore the sealcutter reversed *kara* and *vīra* and turned it into *vīrakara;* all later sealcutters have slavishly followed this practice. One of the few very well-preserved seals in our material is the one from Poona (no. 29); even here we see an example of a sealcutter's mistake: one *akṣara* has been reversed so that न comes out as on the document. Tulpule states: "The seal should be *śrīpratāpa karavīranivāsinī.* The name *karavīranivāsinī* is *mahālakṣmī,* the ruling deity of Karavīra (Kolhāpūr of today). Karavīra is one of the *śakti-pīṭhas* and is mentioned in the Matsyapurāṇa (13.41) *karavīra mahālakṣmīḥ.* This *mahālakṣmī,* also known currently as Ambābāī, was the family-deity of the Marāṭha Kings at Kolhāpūr and is an alter-ego of the goddess Bhavānī of Pratāpagaḍa (near Mahābaḷeśvara, Dist. Sātārā). It was this Bhavānī who was the inspiration of Śivājī the great and who was Rāmavaradāyinī according to Saint Rāmadāsa, the guru of Śivājī. The word (*śrī*) *pratāpa* in the seal is likely to refer to the goddess at Pratāpagaḍa (Pratāpa fort), the whole together bearing witness to the two deities of the ruling dynasty. But the word *pratāpa* may also just mean 'Power' or 'Strength' and nothing more. About *karavīranivāsinī* there is no doubt."

A western variety of punctuation, the dash, is met with in a few cases in the latest documents, cf. p. 58. Another means of marking a break is to leave a space between words. That is done especially when the kings are referred to. Not only are no letter-writers but the kings themselves 'allowed' to use the name of the king when referring to one, but the ordinary letter-writer has to mark his respect by leaving several *akṣaras'* space after *śrimaṃta rājaśri* and before *sāheba,* e.g. *śrimaṃta rājaśri   sāhebāṃce manāsa phāra saṃtoṣa vāṭalā* (No. 21, 1.15-16). The kings do not use such a space of respect but can freely write the name of another king when referring to him, e.g. *amace vaḍila bhāu māhārāja tuḷajā rāje sāheba* (no. 26,1.13-14). The space of respect is also left as a rule after the initial address and before *aji,* 'from'.

Practically all letters except the receipts are headed by the Sanskrit word *śrī* (nos. 4, 6, 15, 29, 43, 48 to 62) or an equivalent used in Persian, *hu* (nos. 7 and

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8) and J (nos. 13, 14, 16 to 28, 30, 31, 32, 35 to 42, 44, 45, 46). Although J is so widely used in our material and can be found also in Persian documents addressed to Danes in India (cf. RA AsK 2186 c), it seems not to be known in Persian studies nor have Indian specialists in Moḍī documents agreed on an interpretation of this sign. One publication on Persian letters contains one sample where the sign heads a letter addressed to a European.[23] The sign is not translated nor commented upon by the compiler and translator. The three interpretations proposed are that J represents *alif, lām* or *hu.* The last is perhaps most likely to be correct. The same word *hu* written in Moḍī occurs twice in our material and is the only one for which there is some dictionary evidence for a use similar to the one found in the material.[24]

Double or triple daṇḍa is used to denote small monetary units and fractions (no. 20, 1.14; no. 21, 1.25; no. 22, 1.15; no. 32, 1.22 & 24).

23. C. Stewart, *Original Persian letters and other documents,* with facsimiles. Compiled and translated by Charles Stewart. London 1825. Document no. X, Plate 18 facing p. 133, translated p. 132.

24. 'The J sign is the Arabic word *huva* which means 'God Almighty' just like the *śrī* appearing on the head of each Marāṭhī letter.' (Personal communication from Mr. Y.N. Kelkar, 14.12. 1978). 'Arabic *huwa,* Persian *hū* The name of God, generally accompanied by one or more of his attributes, written in front of a letter or book as an auspicious omen.' Steingass, *Dictionary* p. 1516.

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Chapter 2

Calendrical systems

No less than six calendrical systems are used in our material. The year may be given in the Muslim Suhūra sana and Hegira eras, in the Hindu sixty year cycle of Jupiter (Bṛhaspati) or in the Christian, A.D. The month and day may be given in the Muslim Hegira system, the Hindu solar month, the Hindu lunar month, or according to the Christian system.[1]

The distribution and use of these various eras in the documents are as follows: The Muslim Suhūra sana is the earliest to occur. It is used in all receipts to describe the period for which the annual tribute has been paid (no. 1, 1.4; no. 3, 1.3-4; no. 5, 1.3-4, 6, 7, 10, 15, 17, 19, 25, 27 and 29; no. 33, 1.4-5 and 5; no. 34, 1.4, 5; no. 47, 1.4-5). In that function the Suhūra sana dating stands alone without further explanation in the two first receipts, dated 1725 and 1744. From the third receipt onwards the Suhūra sana year is supplemented or explained by the corresponding year of the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (no. 5, 1. 7-8, 11, 15, 17, 19, 25, 27 and 29; no. 33, 1.5; no. 34, 1.5; no. 47, 1. 5-6). The receipts use a third system for the dating of the document, namely the Hegira month (no. 3, 1.17-18; no. 5, 1.37; no. 33, 1.20-21; no. 34, 1.20-21; no. 47, 1.21-22). The Suhūra sana era is used in the reminders to pay the annual tribute and in a few other documents, again specifically to describe the year for which the money is due (no. 37, 1.9, 10, 11, 12; no. 38, 1.11, 13 (twice), 15

1. The Christian era equivalents of the various Muslim and Hindu eras and dates are taken from the two standard handbooks, Svāmi-Kannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Madras 1922, and Presidency of Bombay, *Chronological Tables 1752-1852*. Bombay 1850. When disagreement between them occurs, this has been mentioned in a footnote to the translation. It is clear that such tables cannot account for slight local variations and the Christian date may therefore differ in some cases by up to two or three days from the actual date. This is illustrated in our material in a few instances, e.g. no. 26 where the tables give 26th Muḥarram as 7th November 1787 but a contemporary translation into Danish gives 8th November; for no. 28 14th Rabī ᶜI 1202 Hegira era the tables give the equivalent as 24th or 25th December 1787 respectively but a contemporary translation into Danish gives 23rd December. In no. 23 the equivalent of 22th Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1201 Hegira era is given by the scribe as 2nd October 1787 but by the tables as 5th October. This discrepancy may be due to a scribal mistake. For particular difficulties in the calendrical system in Tamilnadu see C.J. Fuller, 'The Calendrical system in Tamilnadu (South India)', JRAS 1980, 52-63.

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(twice), 17 (twice), 19, 23, 25, 27, 29; no. 39, 1.4, 5; no. 40, 1.5; no. 41, 1.5; no. 42, 1.4-5, 17; no. 49, 1.4; no. 50, 1.5; no. 53, 1.8; no. 54, 1.6; no. 55, 1.8; no. 56, 1.5; no. 57, 1.8; no. 58, 1.8; no. 60, 1.5; no. 61, 1.6; no. 62, 1.7). In all these instances the Suhūra sana year is followed or explained by the corresponding year in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter. The Suhūra sana year is also used for dating the document (no. 7, 1.6; no. 9, 1.5-6; no. 18, 1.49; no. 29, 1.25-26; no. 41, 1.11; no. 42, 1.17). In nos. 7, 9 and 18 Suhūra sana years are used without supplement or explanation, and the month is in the Hegira reckoning. No. 29 is the letter from Poona. In no. 41 and 42 the Suhūra sana year is followed by the corresponding Christian year.

The Hegira era and month are used for the dating of documents (no. 19, 1.23-24; no. 20, 1.26-27; no. 21, 1.40-41; no. 22, 1.31-32; no. 23, 1.58-59; no. 24, 1.72-73; no. 26, 1.36-38; no. 28, 1.20-22; no. 30, 1.25-26; no. 32, 1.33-34; no. 40, 1.12-13). In nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 28, 30 and 32 the Hegira era is used alone; in nos. 23, 24 and 40 the equivalent year and month in the Christian era is added. The Hegira era is also used in the letter itself to refer to the date of an event, e.g. the arrival of other letters (no. 20, 1.3; no. 21, 1.10; no. 22, 1.9, 11; no. 26, 1.4, 6, 7). Here the date according to the Hegira era stands alone. The Hegira era may also be used in the endorsement of the letter by the clerk in Tranquebar (no. 22, 1.33); in this case the Hegira year and month are followed by the corresponding year in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter and the Hindu solar month. Finally the Hegira month is used in the initial phrase 'up to this day of writing' (no. 43, 1.5).

The sixty year cycle of Jupiter is first used as an ancillary dating next to the Suhūra sana date (no. 5, 1.7-8, 11, 15, 17, 19, 25, 27 and 29; no. 33, 1.5; no. 34, 1.5; no. 37, 1.9, 10, 11 and 12; no. 38, 1.11, 13 (twice), 15(twice), 17 (twice), 19-20, 23, 25, 27 and 29-30; no. 39, 1.4, 5; no. 40, 1.5; no. 41, 1.5-6; no. 42, 1.5; no. 49, 1.5; no. 53, 1.8; no. 54, 1.6; no. 55, 1.8; no. 56, 1.5; no. 57, 1.8; no. 58, 1.8; no. 60, 1.5; no. 61, 1.6; no. 62, 1.7). All these dates refer to the payment of the annual tribute. In one letter the sixty year cycle of Jupiter and the Hindu solar month occur after the Hegira year and month (no. 22, 1. 34); this is in the endorsement part of the document. The sixty year cycle of Jupiter with the Hindu solar month also occurs as an independent dating (no. 20, 1.28-29; no. 21, 1.42-43); here too it is the endorsement which is dated in this typical South Indian way.

The Hindu solar month may also be used with the year according to the Christian era (no. 19, 1.3) where it refers to a date in the actual letter. The Hindu lunar month is used in the initial phrase 'up to this day of writing' (no. 29, 1.6); the document is dated in the Muslim Suhūra sana era and the Muslim Hegira month.

The Christian era appears for the first time in the text of a letter where it refers to the receipt of another letter (no. 19, 1.3); the month is given according

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to the Hindu solar month reckoning. The Christian year and month occur as ancillary systems of dating after the Hegira year and month dating of documents (no. 23, 1.60-61; no. 24, 1.74-75; no. 40, 1.14-15); as ancillary systems of dating, the Christian year and month occur after the Suhūra sana year and the Hegira month (no. 41, 1.12; no. 42, 1.18); here also the date is that of the document which is being despatched. The Christian year and month are used independently for the dating of documents (no. 31, 1.35-36; no. 35, 1.15; no. 36, 1.15; no. 37, 1.18; no. 38, 1.36; no. 39, 1.10; no. 44, 1.26; no. 45, 1.18; no. 46, 1.13; no. 48, 1.17; no. 49, 1.10; no. 50, 1.9; no. 51, 1.24; no. 52, 1,20; no. 53, 1.12; no. 54, 1.10; no. 55, 1.12; no. 56, 1.9; no. 57, 1.12; no. 58, 1.12; no. 59, 1.8; no. 60, 1.10; no. 61, 1.10; no. 62, 1.11-12). The Christian calender is also used independently in the letter itself referring to a date (no. 35, 1.4; no. 36, 1.5, 10; no. 44, 1.9; no. 45, 1.11; no. 46, 1.7-8; no. 48, 1.5; no. 51, 1.8; no. 52, 1.8; no. 59, 1.5-6). It is noteworthy that the Christian year and month are never used in the receipts, nor in any other connection with the annual tribute to Tanjore. Furthermore, the western way of writing the date of the letter on the sheet of the letter itself (and not the envelope) is adopted from no. 35 onwards in all cases where the Christian era is used independently. The system of writing the date in the letter rather than on the envelope is also found in all receipts, dated in the Hegira month. Even ordinary letters dated in the Suhūra sana era (nos. 7, 9, 29, 41, 42) carry the date in the letter. The letters dated in the Hegira year and month carry the date on the envelope (nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 40); we may presume that those documents which do not carry any date and whose envelopes are missing were also dated in the Hegira era (nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 25, 27); it is however not impossible that some of the earlier ones were dated in the Suhūra sana era.

To sum up the distribution of the Muslim, Hindu and Christian calendrical systems used in our material: the Suhūra sana era is used throughout the period from 1725 to 1844 in the receipts and the reminders to pay the annual tribute with reference to the year for which the money has been received or is due. It is also used in the dating of letters, in the early letters (no. 7 dating from 1762 and no. 9 dating from 1764) and sporadically later on (no. 18 from 1779; no. 29 from 1788, the letter from Poona, nos. 41 and 42 from 1805). In no instance is the Suhūra sana era used as an ancillary reckoning; from 1754 (no. 5) onwards the Suhūra sana date may itself be followed by an ancillary reckoning, viz. the sixty year cycle of Jupiter or in a few cases the Christian era (nos. 41 and 42 from 1805).

The Hegira era is used for the dating of documents in the period 1784-1791 and in an isolated instance in 1805 where the equivalent Christian year and date are added. The Hegira month alone is used in a few cases, mainly in the dating of receipts. The Hegira era and month are never used as an ancillary system of dating; in a few instances the Hegira era and month have as an ancillary dating

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the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (nos. 22, 23, 24 from 1786-1787), and in some the Christian era (nos. 40, 41 and 42 from 1805).

The Christian year alone with the Hindu solar month occurs once in a letter from 1784 (no. 19). The Christian year and month function as ancillaries to the Muslim year and month in letters written in 1787 and 1805 (nos. 23, 24, 40, 41 and 42). The Christian year and month are used alone from 1802 onwards (no. 35) until the last document dated 1844 (no. 62), with the exceptions already mentioned. The year and month in the Christian era are never followed by an ancillary dating, although the typical South Indian sixty year cycle of Jupiter and the Hindu solar month might have been expected in such a role.

We may thus roughly distinguish between an early period of Suhūra sana reckoning, from 1725 to the 1760's or 1770's, a later one of Hegira reckoning, from 1784 to 1791 and a final long period of Christian era reckoning, from 1802 to 1844. There is thus no period when the sixty year cycle of Jupiter was used for dating, although that is the local calendrical system par excellence outside the Tanjore court. It occurs, however, throughout the period from 1754 to 1844 as an ancillary dating system and also as an independently dating system in the few endorsements preserved from 1786. The year of the payment of the annual tribute does not follow the same pattern but is throughout given in the Suhūra sana dating, usually with the sixty year cycle dating as an ancillary. The letter from Poona stands out as the only one using the Hindu lunar month.

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Chapter 3

Introduction to the Tanjore Marāṭhī language

When *La Formation de la langue marathe* was published by Jules Bloch in Paris in 1915, very little was known about the influence of Dravidian upon Indo-Aryan languages. With the exception of one sentence[1] its conclusion does not contain any reference to factors other than Indo-Aryan which were of importance for the formation of Marāṭhī. The author does, however, occasionally remark that Marāṭhī shares the feature in question with Dravidian languages; this applies to the change of *e-* to *ye-* and of *o-* to *vo-*, the cerebralisation of consonants, the distinction between animate and inanimate, the formation of participial tenses, the use of the verb meaning 'to go' for the formation of the passive and finally the use of the phrase 'having said' in the sense of 'that'.

In another of the pioneering descriptions of modern Indian languages, viz. S.K. Chatterji's *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta University Press 1926), it was clearly stated that 'it is in syntax that Indian Dravidiandom and Aryandom are one' (§ 82). Another contribution to Marāṭhī studies was presented by A. Master in an article published in two parts in 1929 & 1932, 'Some Parallelisms in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian with especial reference to Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Kanarese' (JRAS Bom N.S. 5, 95-140 & 8, 29-68). Among Dravidian features additional to those already pointed out by Jules Bloch, there are the inflexion by postposition, the similar inflexion of singular and plural nouns, the use of inclusive and exclusive forms of 'we', the position of the relative sentence before the principal one, the position of the governing word after the word governed, and the regularly inflected negative verb. After a description of historical contacts between the speakers of Marāṭhī and Dravidian languages, especially of Kannaḍa, the author gives many examples of the above-mentioned similarities and of some more isolated features. He concludes with an admission that the information gathered in his article is an insufficient basis upon which to found any theory: 'I do not say Dravidian idioms although I believe them to have been almost wholly Dravidian ... All or the main part of the materials of Gujarātī and Marāṭhī are Aryan, but they are

1. 'In the formation of ... can be perceived the action of new tendencies ... irrespective of the origin of these tendencies ...', Jules Bloch, *The Formation of the Marāṭhī Language*, trsl. by D.R. Chanana. Delhi 1970, pp. 288-9.

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made up in Dravidian fashion' (p. 63 & 65).[2] Only two years later there appeared Jules Bloch's broad study *l'Indo-Aryen du Véda aux temps modernes* (Paris 1934). Here the author discusses more extensively the agreement between Aryan and non-Aryan languages and two thirds of his conclusions deal with that question. 'Of all these facts only those which concern cerebrals are indisputable. This is enough to warrant a search for other traces of substrata and in particular of a Dravidian substratum.'[3]

From the 1940's until today, there has appeared a series of broader studies of the similarities between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian by scholars like T. Burrow, M.B. Emeneau and M. Andronov. The question of bilingualism is focused upon, and we may quote M. Andronov in his conclusion: 'it is the bilingualism of peoples, speaking these languages, and their mutual efforts to make their speech more intelligible which should be regarded as the main cause and form of such development,'[4] namely that the number of elements typologically similar for Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages is steadily growing and that the number of such elements, binding Indo-Aryan with Indo-European and modern Dravidian with old Dravidian, is gradually diminishing.

With special regard to Marāṭhī we find two studies on its contact with Dravidian. One is a historical analysis, viz. F.C. Southworth's 'Detecting prior creolization. An analysis of the historical origins of Marāṭhī'.[5] To the features already discovered to be common to Marāṭhī and Dravidian, there can be added a future form referring to 'an event which is expected to occur, but under circumstances which cannot be specified' (p. 265), the idea of possessing or owning expressed by a postposition which also means 'near', the morphemes which function both as main verbs and as verbal operators, e.g. Marāṭhī *ghe-*, *ṭāk-*, *jā-*, *ṭhev-* and, finally, semantic distinctions made between particular pairs of words which have no early Indo-Aryan parallels. The Marāṭhī language could, according to the author, be termed Maharashtrian creolized Aryan (or Prakrit), being the outcome of the contact between local (Dravidian) languages and Prakrit with the upper-class Maharashtrian Prakrit.

The other article on the contact between Marāṭhī and Dravidian describes a modern case. In 'Convergence and Creolization. A Case from the Indo-Aryan/

2. The question of Kannaḍa influence on Old Marāṭhī is also discussed by S.G. Tulpule, *Yādavakālīna marāṭhī bhāṣā* (The Marāṭhī language of the Yādava period), 2nd ed., Poona 1973, pp. 99-114.
3. The quotation is from Alfred Master's translation *Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to modern times,* Paris 1965, p. 327.
4. M. Andronov, 'On the typological similarity of new Indo-Aryan and Dravidian'. IL 25, 1964, 125.
5. In Dell Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. London 1971, pp. 255-274.

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Dravidian Border in India'[6] the authors, J.J. Gumperz and R. Wilson, analyse the languages spoken in Kupwar village in Sangli district in Maharashtra, seven miles north of the border with Mysore. The linguistic practices in the area are complicated as they are closely dependent on the local social structure and the particular social status of the various parts of the population speaking Kannaḍa, Urdū, Marāṭhī (and Telugu) respectively. The question of the degree and nature of bilingualism between these groups is dealt with in detail. The interest centres on the changes which Urdū undergoes in its contact with Kannaḍa and Marāṭhī speakers. For the Kupwar village as a whole, the outcome of the centuries long contact is the development of word-for-word translatable codes; the language distinctions are maintained, actual messages show word-for-word or morph-for-morph translatability. Here it is grammar which has been most adaptable and lexical shape most persistent, contrary to the normal development of a language.

In a special publication of IJDL entitled *Contact and Convergence in South Asian Languages,* and edited by F.C. Southworth and M.L. Apte (Trivandrum 1974), the introduction quotes extensively from the two articles mentioned above, but the volume does not offer any further study of language contact between Marāṭhī and Dravidian. Of some, though indirect, relevance is P.B. Pandit's contribution to the same volume (pp. 181-200), 'Bilingual's grammar: A case-study of Tamil-Saurashtri number names'. The same tendency as seen in the Kupwar village is found to be at work here, viz. that Saurāṣṭrī and Tamil have an identical grammar of number names, although the lexicon of Saurāṣṭrī is mainly Indo-Aryan.

The only modern study which might have been directly relevant to our material seems, unfortunately, not to have had materialized; it is referred to by F.C. Southworth: 'We look forward to the publication of the results of Apte's current study of Marāṭhī speakers in Tanjore and other parts of the Tamil-speaking area.'[7] An attempt with the help of I.M.P. Raeside of SOAS in London to gather information about the fate of this project has yielded no result.

On Tanjore Marāṭhī itself we possess only one publication, viz. S.G. Tulpule's *Marāṭhī bhāṣecā taṃjāvarī kośa* ('A Tanjore dictionary of the Marāṭhī language'), Poona 1973 and one small article by the same author describing the

6. In the same volume, pp. 151-168.
7. F.C. Southworth, 'Sociolinguistics Research in South India: Achievements and Prospects', in Burton Stein, *Essays on South India,* Asian Studies at Hawaii 15, Hawaii 1975, p. 194.

According to a personal communication from Prof. S.G. Tulpule, the Tanjore Marāṭhī language was recently studied by Prof. S.R. Kulkarni of the Osmania University, but no studies are published as yet (April 1982).

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nature and contents of that *kośa* plus another related one, 'Two glossarial works in the Marāṭhī Mss. Section of Saraswati Mahal Library' (JTSML 10, 1955, 3-8). It is stated there that 'these works appear to be composed mainly for the use of the Marāṭhī speaking populace of Tanjore State which was long cut off from its motherland, namely Mahārāṣṭra proper, and was more at home in Tamil than in Marāṭhī. For these glossaries contain in some cases the Dravidian, and especially Tamilian equivalents of certain Marāṭhī words, which fact goes to prove that the works were intended mainly for the benefit of the Marāṭhī-speaking people of Tanjore. The date of the preparation of these glossaries is not mentioned, but in all probability they were undertaken during the reign of Sarphoji, the last great patron of learning, i.e. in the beginning of the nineteenth century' (p. 3).

Only one word of our material seems to be registered nowhere else but in the above-mentioned *kośa,* namely *dusta* 'present (of clothes)'.

With regard to the influence which Indo-Aryan has exercised on Dravidian, a number of studies have appeared, especially on Sanskritization. A recent paper sums up the results hitherto arrived at, viz. S.N. Sridhar's 'Indo-Aryanization of Dravidian Languages' (Lingua 53, 1981, 199-220). He also touches upon the role which Marāṭhī had played in the process and refers to the above-mentioned article of Gumperz and Wilson, as well as to P.C. Ganeshsundaram and V.I. Subramoniam's 'Marāṭhī loans in Tamil' (IL 14, 1954, 104-123).

As for the third linguistic component of (Tanjore) Marāṭhī, namely Persian and Arabic, we possess only a few publications which clarify their role and development in Marāṭhī. They are all older, two from the 1920's by M.T. Paṭvardhan, viz. 'Persian and Arabic Words in Marāṭhī' (POC 1, Vol. II, 461-70), which describes various changes which Persian and Arabic words underwent when adopted into Marāṭhī, and *Phārśī-marāṭhī-kośa* ('Persian-Marāṭhī dictionary'), Poona 1925; there is in addition an article by Moulvī ᶜAbdul Haq, 'The influence of Persian on Marāṭhī' (IC 10, 1936, 553-609). It deals with many aspects of the linguistic and cultural influence; of interest for our particular material is the observation that the name of two of the Tanjore Marāṭha kings may not be Marāṭhī but a contortion of a Persian term (p. 601).

The direct impact of Persian and Arabic on South Indian languages has perhaps been described by M.Y.K. Umari in his *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic 1710-1960,* Madras 1974. Since, however, neither the British Library, the SOAS library nor the India Office Library possess a copy of the book and attempts to get it directly from Madras have failed, we can not include its conclusions in the analysis of our material. A publication from the same period, Y.M. Pathan's *Marāṭhī bakharīṃtīla phārsīceṃ svarūpa* (Persian loans in the Marāṭhī historical chronicles), Aurangabad 1973, has not been available to me for this study. According to a personal communication from Professor S.G. Tulpule (7.9. 1982) it contains an excellent word-index.

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We can now with a fair amount of certainty characterise the position of the language in which our material is written thus: it is an Indo-Aryan language whose structure is to a large extent determined by early Dravidian influence. In the last quarter of the 17th century, a number of its speakers settled in the Dravidian speaking area of Tanjore as a result of the Marāṭha conquest of the kingdom. The Marāṭhī language came once more under Dravidian influence.

As shown above, we have a small number of studies and a limited amount of parallel material which throw light on the language of our collection of documents. To describe fully the results of the renewed contact between the two languages, we would have to know more precisely the sort of Marāṭhī which the settlers spoke before they left their home country. We possess as yet no special detailed linguistic description of the form of the language between Old Marāṭhī and modern Marāṭhī except for articles on single words, or very general studies which do not 'put a date' on features and changes. The selections which have been published e.g. of historical and administrative (Poona) Marāṭhī texts, are intended for the use of historians.[8] The Tanjore Marāṭhī literary style is, of course, known from the publications of the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library and others.[9] The literary style may have, however, very little in common with the non-literary styles and no linguistic studies have so far been made of the Tanjore Marāṭhī literature hitherto published.

In order to evaluate the evidence presented in our material, we would have to possess a detailed analysis of the social position of the Tanjore Marāṭhī speakers throughout the centuries and also their need to use the local Dravidian idioms. It would, moreover, be important to know what contacts there were between the 'mainland' Marāṭhī speakers and those in Tanjore after their settlement in the South. It would also be important to know the attitude of the Dravidian (Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu) speakers themselves vis-à-vis the Tanjore court and administration in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Against that background, all that can be put forward below is an analysis of the Tanjore Marāṭhī language as it has been preserved, with a description of the vocabulary and its development, of the phonetic or orthographic changes and of the grammar, the continued use of archaic forms and the introduction of new, with observations on syntax, particularly on the formation of sentence subordination. Our study concentrates on such features as are different from those of common Marāṭhī to the extent to which these are known from grammars and other studies. It will take specialists such as Sociolinguists and Dravidologists

8. The inadequacy of such publications for linguistic studies is well described by T.S. Shejwalkar in his prefaces to *Nagpur Affairs 1-2*, Deccan College Monograph Series nos. 9 & 14, Poona 1954 & 1959.
9. Cf. the bibliographical notes in S.G. Tulpule, *Classical Marāṭhī Literature* in *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. IX, Fasc. 4, Wiesbaden 1979.

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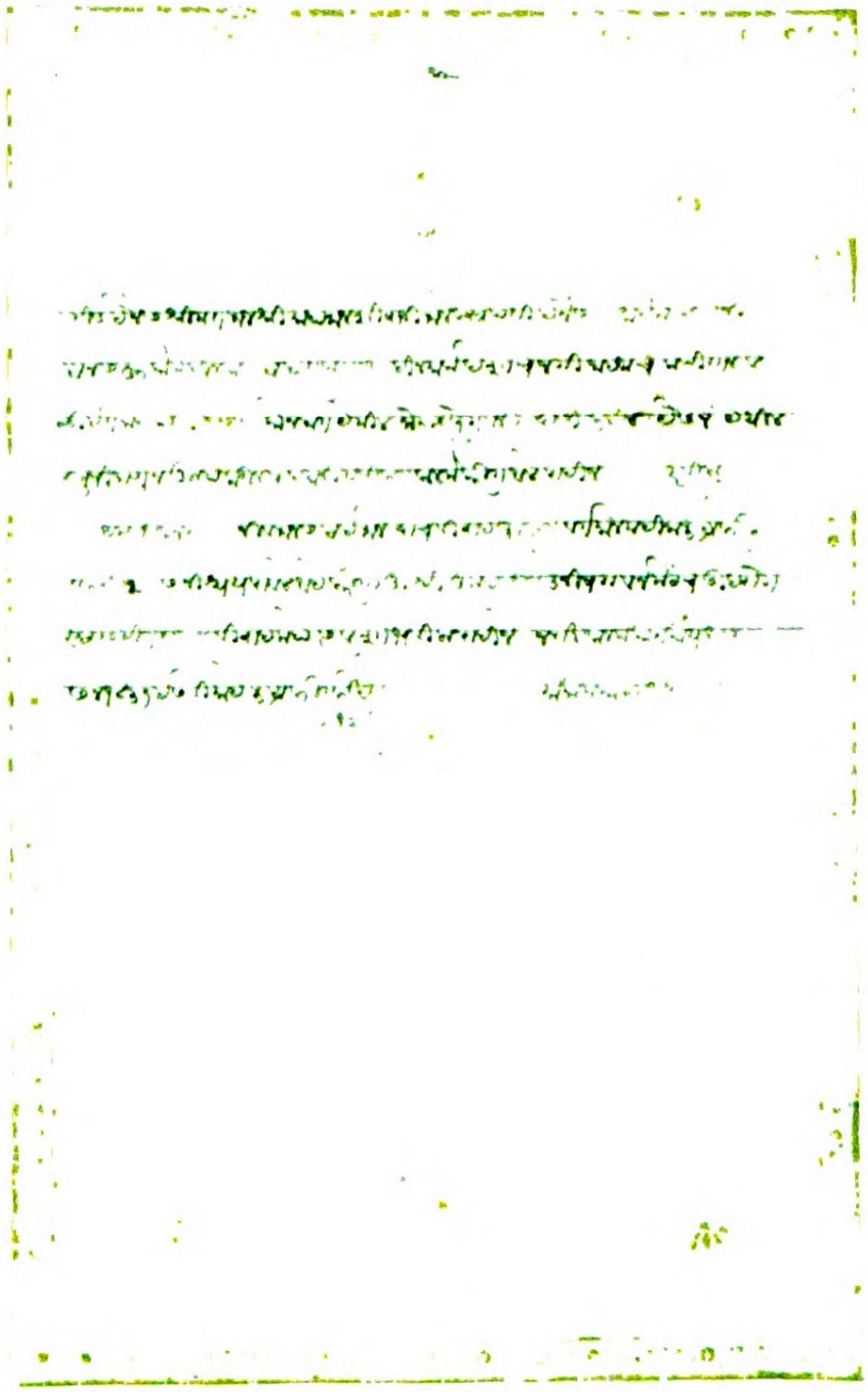

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to assess on a wider scale, the value and implications of the characteristics which we find that Tanjore Marāṭhī developed as a result of its contact with Dravidian.

The presentation of this source material and the description which follows will, we hope, further the investigation of language contact and convergence and thereby perhaps help to throw light on even earlier processes of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian language interaction in India.

Formula type of language

Two categories of documents single themselves out as formally distinct from the rest, namely nos. 1, 3, 5, 33, 34 and 47 which are receipts, and nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61 and 62 which are letters informing the Danish authorities that the receipt has been sent and that the tribute and other money should therefore be dispatched to Tanjore. The latter letters can be called 'reminders'. The strictly administrative nature of the two categories has determined their formula type of lay-out. Within these two, therefore, very little change should be expected of either language or content. They will, nevertheless, be seen to give a great deal of information about the development of language and administration in Tanjore.

Of these two categories of documents, the receipts cover the period from 1725 to 1807, and the reminders the period from 1804 to 1844. The receipts themselves fall into two distinct groups. The first consists of no. 1, and the second of the remainder, i.e. nos. 3, 5, 33, 34 and 47. No. 1, being complete except for a few words at the end, is considerably shorter than the rest, but the basic phrases are almost identical. The accretions occur because of elaborations in the chronological system, the expansion of the Tanjore district territory under Danish administration, and the increase in the number of officers involved in the revenue administration of Tanjore.

The basic phrases occurring in all receipts, corresponding approximately to the wording of no. 1 in full, are characterised by the predominance of Persian and Arabic words; Indo-Aryan vocabulary is restricted to the titles of the king, the name of the monetary unit, and the verbs. There are, in addition, two terms adopted from Portuguese. For an analysis of these basic phrases we may take document no. 1 as a basis; for the time being we can leave aside those words which only occur in one and the same form throughout the entire material. Thus the first word is *dāima* 'perpetual' (1. 1-2). Besides *dāima* (no. 1,1. 1-2; no. 3, 1.2; no. 5, 1.2; no. 33, 1.2; no. 34, 1,1; no. 47, 1.2) the spellings *dāma* (no. 6, 1.4; no. 8, 1.3; no. 10, 1.3; no. 11, 1.3; no. 12, 1.2; no. 13, 1.3; no. 14, 1.3; no. 17, 1.3; no. 18, 1.4 and 47; no. 21, 1.6 and 39; no. 22, 1.4 and 30), *dāṃ*

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(no. 24, 1.4 and 71; no. 32, 1.4 and 32) and *dāṃma* (no. 2, 1.2; no. 36, 1.3; no. 38, 1.2; no. 41, 1.2 and 14; no. 45, 1.3) also occur. Thus the distribution is that the oldest form *dāima* is preserved in all the receipts and nowhere else. The spellings *dāma, dāṃ* and *dāṃma* occur in one context only, i.e. before *mohabatahu* 'may his favour remain'. Here the initial *m-* accounts to some extent for the instability in the spelling of *dāma,* as compared with *dāima daulatahu* in the receipts. This change in spelling has taken place under the influence of the spoken language, and one can regard the earliest reduction, *dāima* to *dāma,* as a normal feature of the Marāṭhī language; that the two other forms *dāṃ* and *dāṃma* occur, with one exception, in letters which are later than those containing *dāma* may lead us to suppose that they were introduced partly under the influence of spoken and written Tamil; we do not find such a development in the Marāṭhī proper of our documents.

The next word is *siyora,* rendered by 'honourable', from Portuguese *senhor.* Besides the form *siyora* (no. 1, 1.2; no. 3, 1.2; no. 8, 1.2; no. 33, 1.2; no. 34, 1.2) the forms *siṃyora* (no. 2, 1.1; no. 5, 1.2; no. 14, 1.2; no. 17, 1.2; no. 18, 1.2 and 46; no. 47, 1.2), *sayora* (no. 6, 1.3) and *saṃyora* (no. 10, 1.2; no. 11, 1.2; no. 13, 1.2) also occur. Here, the receipts vary between the use of a nasalized form *siṃyora* and a non-nasalized form *siyora;* both occur in the other documents as well. We also have in the rest of the material the other set of nasalized and non-nasalized forms with *-a-* instead of *-i-* in the first syllable. The latest occurrence of the Portuguese word outside the receipts is in no. 18, dated 31. 12. 1779. In 1776 the English had restored the throne of Tanjore to the Marāṭha dynasty (King Tuḷajā) and had forced the king to sign a treaty which in effect reduced the kingdom to a British protectorate. It is not unreasonable to see the disappearance of this Portuguese term of polite address as a result of that historical event. At the same time it is noteworthy that it continues to be used in the receipts, the last, no. 47, being as late as 1807.

As term of polite address *siyora* is in all instances linked with another Portuguese word *governador,* written *goraṇadora* in document no. 1. We find *goraṇadora* (no. 1, 1.2; no. 3, 1.2; no. 5, 1.2; no. 7, 1.2; no. 9, 1.2), *govarṇadora* (no. 2, 1.1; no. 4, 1.2; no. 6, 1.3; no. 8, 1.3; no. 10, 1.2-3; no. 11, 1.3; no. 12, 1.1; no. 13, 1.2-3), *goraṃdora* (no. 14, 1.2; no. 15, 1.14, 16 and 23; no. 16, 1.2; no. 17, 1.2; no. 18, 1.2; no. 19, 1.2 and 20-21; no. 33, 1.2; no. 34, 1.2; no. 39, 1.5 and 7; no. 42, 1.5, 6 and 15-16; no. 47, 1.2), *gaunara* (no. 20, 1.2 and 25; no. 21, 1.5 and 39; no. 22, 1.3-4 and 30; no. 23, 1.3, 7 and 57; no. 24, 1.3 and 71; no. 25, 1.8 and 17; no. 26, 1.3 and 35; no. 27, 1.2, 7-8 and 9; no. 28, 1.2 and 18; no. 30, 1.2 and 23; no. 31, 1.2 and 32-33; no. 32, 1.4 and 32; no. 44, 1.4; no. 45, 1.3; no. 52, 1.3 and 22; no. 53, 1.4; no. 55, 1.3; no. 57, 1.4 and 14), *goraṃnadora* (no. 29, 1.1 and 29), *govarnadora* (no. 44, 1.2 and 28), *gavarnara* (no. 48, 1.2; no. 49, 1.2; no. 50, 1.2 and 13; no. 51, 1.3 and 26; no. 53, 1.14; no. 55,

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1.14; no. 56, 1.3 and 11; no. 58, 1.15; no. 59, 1.3; no. 60, 1.3 and 12), and *gavaranara* (no. 58, 1.4).

Thus forms closest to the Portuguese *governador* i.e. *goraṇadora, govarṇadora* and *goraṃdora,* are the only ones used in the first 19 documents, which are dated from 1725 to 1784; in documents nos. 20 to 32, dated from 1786 to 1791, only a form adapted from English governor, i.e. *gaunara,* is found. Receipts nos. 33, 34 and 47 keep the older *goraṃdora,* as do documents no. 39 and 42. Document no. 44 is peculiar in using *govarnadora* in the formal address while reserving *gaunara* for the letter proper. From no. 45 onwards both the phonetic rendering *gaunara* and spellings closer to the English orthography, i.e. *gavarnara* and *gavaranara,* are found. In two instances, no. 53 and no. 55, one form (*gaunara*) is used in the address at the head of the letter, while the other form (*gavarnara*) is used in the address on the envelope. It may be that the two parts did not originally belong together. In no. 58 the spellings *gavaranara* and *gavarnara* alternate in the same way. The only form not mentioned so far is *goraṃnadora,* which occurs only in the letter from Poona. We may conclude that the Tanjore Marāṭhī equivalents of the Portuguese word *governador* were used exclusively up to 1784; from 1786 to 1791 the same holds true for the Tanjore Marāṭhī equivalent of the English word governor. For the rest of the period the picture is less clear; it may be noted that the Marāṭhī forms closest to English orthography prevail over *gaunara* from no. 48, dated 1823, onwards until the last instance in no. 60, dated 1837. The receipts all keep the old form derived from Portuguese.

Suhūra sana, in no. 1, 1.3-4, is the reckoning of time used in connection with the payment of the annual tribute and other money in all receipts. In no. 1, written in 1725 and no. 3, written in 1744, Suhūra sana is used alone, but from no. 5, written in 1754 onwards right up to the last receipt extant, Suhūra sana has been supplemented or explained by the equivalent year in the South Indian sixty year cycle of Jupiter called *Bṛhaspati.* The date of receipt no. 1 is unfortunately missing but the other receipts have preserved theirs. In all cases the Hegira era is used. For a fuller treatment of the question of the calendrical systems in use in Tanjore, see chapter two. Here it may suffice to say that the receipts keep the older reckoning, the Suhūra sana, and are alone in spelling the name in full where other documents use abbreviations.

The word *tophā* 'tribute' (1.4) occurs in the direct form throughout the material and calls for no comment; the oblique form, *tophiyā,* however, deserves a closer analysis. The occurrences are as follows *tophiyāce paike* (no. 1, 1.4-5), *tophiyāṃ* (no. 3, 1.4; no. 26, 1.5), *tophiyā* (no. 5, 1.4; no. 21, 1.32; no. 26, 1.9; no. 33, 1.7; no. 34, 1.7; no. 47, 1.7) and *tophayā* (no. 20, 1.16; no. 22, 1.17, 20 and 22; no. 32, 1.13). All these instances of *tophiyāṃ, tophiyā* and *tophayā* are followed by the word *bǎbǎti* 'item of revenue'. There are more occurrences

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of the oblique of *tophā*, namely *tophayā paikyā barābari* (no. 32, 1.25), *tophayāsa mātra* (no. 37, 1.4) and *tophayā* (no. 38, 1.4), where the governing word is missing because of a hole in the paper. Thus the oblique in *-iyā* occurs in the receipts and also in nos. 21 and 26. The more modern oblique in *-ayā* occurs only outside the receipts (nos. 20, 22, 32, 37, 38). It is hard to say why the normal development of the masculine oblique into *tophyā* does not take place here; the rarity of this Arabic word may partly account for it, as may also the uncommon combination of *-ph-* directly with *-yā*. Thus we see that in respect of the inflexion of nouns also the receipts are conservative when compared with the rest of the material.[10]

The basic phrases of the receipts which are repeated in one and the same form throughout the material are *aja rakhtakhāne ... daulatahu bajāneba ... bidānaṃda ...;* all the words are of either Persian or Arabic origin and are all so obsolete and of so limited use that they do not occur outside the receipts in our material, and consequently are not influenced by the spoken language. They thus undergo no change.

In no 1. we see that the phrase *mortabu suda* 'the seal has been made', i.e. 'carried out' follows directly after *cakare...hujura pāvale,* whereas the rest of the receipts insert the phrase *pa.hu.ra.ma... pesáve.* Also noteworthy in no. 1 is the fact that the very highly placed *sarakhela* '(sort of) prime minister' signs or approves it, which is not the case in any other receipt. Since no. 1 lacks the last few lines we may turn to the final phrases as they appear in the rest of the receipts. In no. 3 and 5, dated in 1744 and 1754 respectively, no fewer than four officers of the Tanjore revenue administration sign the receipts as *hujuranavisa* the king's personal secretary, *khāsakhela* 'the king's personal officer', *surunavisa* 'the registrar' and *paḷaṃganavisa* 'the revenue records officer'.[11] In nos. 33, 34 and 47, dated in 1797, 1799, and 1807 respectively, the number has been reduced to the last two. The changes in size of the Tanjore administration are thus clearly illustrated in the receipts, from the early, very simple administration to the bigger, more specialized, and more clearly stratified form in he middle of the eighteenth century, which became simple and non-specialized again in the years after the British had turned Tanjore into a protectorate.

The other category of documents composed almost entirely of sets of formulae is the group of annual letters telling the Danish authorities that the receipt has been sent and that the tribute and other money should therefore be dispatched to Tanjore. The extant letters of this type (nos. 37-42, 49, 50, 53-58 and

10. Dr. I.M.P. Raeside of SOAS sees the variations in the oblique forms as evidence of hesitation over gender. Paṭvardhan's dictionary gives the word as masculine only.
11. I owe the translation of these titles to A. Krishnaswami Mahadick Rao Sahib, B.A., Tanjore (great-grandson of H.H. Chatrapathi Shivaji Maharaj, the last ruler of Tanjore).

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60-62) cover the period from 1804 to 1844. Since the first three of these are badly preserved and their text is incomplete, we take no. 40 as a basis for establishing the features which are typical in the major part of the late material. As the initial phrases of courtesy will be dealt with separately below, we start with no. 40, 1.5 *digara* 'further'. This Persian word marking the start of the letter proper is used throughout our material (nos. 2, 6, 10, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 31, 32, 35, 40, 43). It is the only term which has such a function until no. 35, dated in 1802, with the exception of the letter from Poona (no. 29) which uses Sanskrit *viśeṣa*. From no. 36 onwards *darimvilā* 'now' also occurs. According to Molesworth's dictionary this is made up of the Persian word *darīṃ* and a Persianized Sanskrit word *vilā*. It is described by Wilson in his *Glossary* as being a phrase which headed official papers in some of the courts in the south of India. This statement is valid for Tanjore only for the very last years of the Marāṭha reign. Whereas *digara* underwent no change, *darimvilā* keeps the first *-i-* in nos. 36, 38, 39, 41 and 42 only, but changes it from then onwards to *-a-*, in *daravilā* (nos. 48, 49 and 50). This is also the spelling used in the early document no. 12 (1.10-11), where the word is used in a different context. From no. 51 *-l-* is doubled and this gives the form *daravillā* which is used in the rest of the material (nos. 51-62). For the late (re)introduction of administrative terms borrowed from Persian or Arabic into Tanjore Marāṭhī in the early years of the nineteenth century, see below under *yādāsta, yādidāsta, bămojibă* and *darāyeda.*

The text of the letter begins in no. 40, 1.5-6 with the statement *sālagudastā sana... saṃvacharace tophā vagaira yaivajāsa rasida... pāṭavili āhe;* the statement is made in a small number of terms. The verb comes last and the subject *rasida* is preceded by the necessary precise details about the type of money to be received. In place of *saṃvacharacā tophā* we have in nos. 40 and 41 *saṃvacharace; tophā vagaira* is left uninflected before *yaivajāsa,* which in its turn is directly governed by *rasida.* This is the structure used in nos. 40 and 41. No. 42 (1.4-6) marks a transition: *sarakāra* is added before *tophā,* the genitive ending again being *-ce* instead of *-cā.* After the information concerning the year, the word *băbati* 'item of revenue' is inserted and it is followed by *yaivajāsa rasida* etc. as before. From no. 49 onwards, one and the same phrase is used, e.g. in no. 49 (1.4-5) *sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna saṃna ... saṃvacharā băbati tophā vagairecā yaivaja yeṇyāsa rasida ... pāṭavili ăhe.* The verbal noun *yeṇeṃ* is inserted before *rasida,* and is inflected instead of *yaivaja.* The insertion of *yeṇyāsa* necessitates the further information that the money is *sarakārāsa* 'to the government' and *tumhā kaḍuna* 'from you'. Thus instead of the straightforward statement in nine words in no. 40, there occurs from no. 49 onwards a phrase of 13 words, without anything new being added to the original statement. The phrase *tophā vagaira* is now inflected before *yaivaja* in the form *vagairecā.*

In the reminders two different spellings are used for the sixty year cycle of

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Jupiter, i.e. *saṃvachara* (nos. 37-42, 49, 57) and the *tatsama saṃvatsara* (nos. 50,53-56,62). The receipts use *saṃvachara* throughout. The word *bābati* 'item of revenue' is written *băbati* (nos. 42, 49, 50, 53), *băbăti* (nos. 54-57,62), *babati* (nos. 60,61), *ba.* (no. 58) and *bābata* (no. 37 and no. 38). The receipts as well as the rest of our material show the same variety in spelling. The more correct forms *bābati* and *bā.* are also represented. The variety of forms is partly due to the fact that the Moḍī script does not distinguish clearly between the *akṣaras bā* and *ba*. One more feature of the basic phrase deserves mention, i.e. *yeṇyāsa*. This is the spelling used in reminders nos. 49, 50, 53-55, 57, 60, 61. A spelling *yeṇesa* occurs in reminders nos. 58 and 62. The oblique *yeṇe* also occurs in a different context, in reminder no. 37, (1.7-8) *sarakārāsa tophā vagaira yaivaja yeṇecā*. In no. 38 (1.9) we find *yeṇa;* it is hard to say what it represents when so much of the context is missing. The phrase *vakila gopāḷa rāyāṃ kaḍeṃ deuṃna* in nos. 40, 41 and 42 is from no. 49 onwards expanded into *sarakāra ni. băbăji gaṃgādhara yāṃ kaḍeṃ deuna* (nos. 49, 60, 62) and from no. 50 onwards also changed into *sarakārace vakila* ... (nos. 50, 53-55, 57, 58, 61); we see once more that words are added without any change in the substance of the contents.

The next phrase is *dākhala pāuṃna tophā vagaira sarakāracā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisiṃ pāvatā karaṇa* (no. 40, l. 6-7). The word *jhāḍiyā* is in the Old Marāṭhī oblique and is written in this way in all reminders. For other occurrences of this word in the oblique, see p. 73. In the reminders *nisiṃ* 'together with' is written either *nisiṃ* (nos. 40-42, 50 53-57), *niśiṃ* (no. 49) or *nisi* (nos. 58,60-62). A similar uncertainty about the quality of the sibilant is found in the Persian word *ṣādamāni* '(accounts of)well-being', which is used in the initial polite greetings. It is written *ṣā-* (nos. 14, 17, 18, 22, 24, 25, 35-38), *sā-* (nos. 39, 45, 61) and *śā-* (nos. 52-55). The phrase (*yaivaja*)...*pāvatā karaṇa* is in no. 41 (1.8) changed into *pāvata karaṇa* and the final *-ṇa* represents the correct *-ṇeṃ*. This weakening of final *-ṇeṃ* into *-ṇa* is already found in nos. 35-39, while in no. 41 (1.9) also *pramāneṃ* is written as *pramāṇa*. From no. 41 onwards the scribes insert another *sarakārāsa* before the verb. Various verbal expressions are used from no. 42 onwards. The verbal noun, however, always ends in *-ṇeṃ* and not *-ṇa*.

The syntactically intricate phrase *tumhāsa pāṭavilyā khilatesa yādāsta pāṭavili ahe yādi pra. dākhala pāvaṇe* found in no. 37 (1.16) is reduced in no. 39 (1.8) to *tumhāsa sarakārāṃtuna khilata pāṭavili āhe te yādi pramāṇeṃ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ* which also occurs in no. 42(1.8). The two words *yādāsta* 'note of hand' and *yādi* 'list' were apparently confused in this context, and a clearer structure emerged with the use of *khilata* 'robe of honour' as subject of *pāṭaviḷi āhe*. The use of *-ṭ-* for *-ṭh-* is a feature which is not restricted to the late documents such as the reminders but occurs throughout the material. The feminine direct demonstrative used is *te* and not *ti* (for *tī*), but this seems to be of no special significance, since it occurs also in the rest of the material. In no. 49 and the rest of the

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reminders an intricate structure is once more used to express the same idea, i.e. *tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla joḍayāsa yādidāsta pāṭavili* [...]- *he tyā bǎmojibǎ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ* (no. 49,1.7). Here *yādāsta* is reintroduced in the mixed Marāṭhī-Persian form *yādidāsta,* and *bǎmojibǎ* has been used instead of *yādi pramāṇeṃ.* The Tanjore administration thus introduced a very formal Persian word instead of a widely current Indo-Aryan one. For *khilata* 'robe of honour' being superseded by *śāla* 'shawl' as the normal gift sent on the occasion of the payment of the annual tribute, see the Introduction, p. 19.

Finally we may mention that the lack of an extended past participle or pluperfect participle, *tumhāsa pāṭavilyā khilatesa yādāsta* (no. 35,1.16) and *tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla joḍayāsa yādidāsta* (no. 49,1.7), is not a feature confined to the reminders or late documents in general, but is characteristic of the entire material, cf. below p. 78.

Phrases on the envelope meaning 'to be sent to' occur in the material from no. 19 onwards; no. 19 has *yāṃsa pāvate karaṇeṃ* (1.21-22). Nos. 23, 29, 35, 36, 50 have merely *yā(ṃ)si;* nos. 26, 28, 31 have *yā(ṃ)si pāvate(ṃ) karaṇeṃ.* These may be said to be the normal phrases used in that context. However, only one reminder has it, viz. no. 50. The earlier ones, viz.nos. 41, 44 and 46, use a purely Persian phrase *darāyeda* 'to be given to'. The expression is so incongruent that the scribes did not know how to link it syntactically with the rest of the sentence. In nos. 41 and 44 it is added independently of the previous part of the sentence, whereas in no. 46 it is preceded by a dative *yāṃsiṃ* as in normal Marāṭhī. In the late reminders the verb *poṃhacāvaṇeṃ* is used instead of *pāvate(ṃ) karaṇeṃ.*

The most peculiar expression of this type is *yāṃce theṃ pāvateṃ karaṇeṃ* (nos. 58, 60, 61). The form *theṃ* seems to be extracted from the latter half of such pronominal adverbs as *jetheṃ* 'where', *tetheṃ* 'there' and *etheṃ* 'here'. The Tanjore Marāṭhī equivalent of the oblique genitive *-cyā* is *-ce.* The occurrences of such a phrase as *āmacyā etheṃ asā prakāra pāhāyāsa miḷāyācā nāhiṃ* 'you will not see such things at our house' (Navalkar §344) suggests that we may here have *yāṃcyā etheṃ*, i.e. *yāṃce etheṃ* reduced to *yāṃcetheṃ*. It may be argued that the Tanjore Marāṭhī equivalent of *etheṃ* should be *yetheṃ* and we should have *yāṃce yetheṃ*, which is perhaps less likely to be reduced. At the same time *etheṃ*, *yetheṃ* do not express motion to a place as does a word like *kaḍe.*

The last expression used for 'to' in the address of a letter occurs in the very last document *yāṃce theṃ praviṣṭa kije* (no. 62, 1.13). It combines the problematic *theṃ*, a Sanskrit *tatsama praviṣṭa* and an Old Marāṭhī passive of *karaṇeṃ*, viz. *kije.*

To sum up the features which are characteristic of the reminders: Persian and Arabic vocabulary may be used in stead of Marāṭhī, e.g. *bǎmojibǎ* for *pramāṇeṃ*, *darāyeda* for *pāvate(ṃ) karaṇeṃ*, or one mixed Persian-Sanskrit

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one may be used in place of a Persian word, e.g. *darimvilā* for *digara*. A mixed Marāṭhī and Persian form may also occur in stead of a Persian one, e.g. *yādidāsta* instead of *yā(d)dāsta*. *Tatsamas* may be introduced side by side with *tadbhavas*, e.g. *saṃvatsara* with *saṃvachara*, or instead of a Marāṭhī verb, e.g. *praviṣṭa* instead of *pāvateṃ*. English may be used, e.g. *rasida* 'receipt', as may obsolete forms from Old Marāṭhī *kije* and *theṃ* (?) and *jhāḍiyā*. An English (?) type of punctuation in the shape of dashes may be introduced (nos. 53–57), dropped (nos. 58-60) and then used on a reduced scale in nos. 61 and 62. The normal rules of syntax are not always observed, e.g. *tophā vagaira* is left uninflected before *yaivajāsa*, *yāṃsi* and other dative forms may be omitted before *darāyeda;* a whole phrase may be omitted, making nonsense of the letter, which is nevertheless sent off from the Tanjore court (no. 56, note 1). There is uncertainty about or change of spelling, e.g. *darimvilā*, *daravilā* and *daravillā; vagaire* and *vagaira* are both used as both direct and oblique forms; *bǎbǎtil-a*, *nisiṃ*, *niśiṃ*, *ṣādamāni*, *sā-* and *śā-; -e* written instead of *-yā*, *yeṇesa* instead of *yeṇyāsa*. This may also be the explanation of the spelling *saṃvacharace tophā* instead of *saṃvacharacā tophā*. Because of the preceding palatal *-c-*, *-cā* and *-cyā* are pronounced in exactly the same way, and *-e* may thus stand not only for *-yā* but also for *-ā*. We find *-a* instead of *-eṃ* in both the old singular instrumental, e.g. *pramāṇeṃ* written as *pramāṇa*, and the verbal noun, e.g. *karaṇeṃ*, written as *karaṇa*. Finally the number of words used to express one and the same idea is increased considerably. The one word most often added is *sarakāra* 'government', precisely at a time when the Tanjore government's power was decreasing or had already decreased.

The Marāṭhī language of the reminders, which constitute the major part of the late documents, can thus be said to be in a state where many features were being taken in but not assimilated, while the words or rules which were already there were beginning to lose currency. Was this language an isolated – almost artificial – relic at this stage, or was it in contact with and under the influence of Tamil? The lack of inflection and uncertainty about endings recall Bloch's words 'la phrase dravidienne est simple; les mots dont elle se compose sont en partie indifférenciés fonctionnellement;... En outre les marques flexionnelles peuvent manquer. Par exemple le nom tel quel peut être sujet ou régime direct, ou premier terme de composé;... Les indices de rapports grammaticaux sont donc relativement rares, si l'on compare ces langues à d'autres langues où la plupart des mots portent nécessairement la marque de leur fonction.[12]

The gemination of *-l-* in *daravi(l)lā* is perhaps due to the influence of Tamil, since 'single consonants are often doubled'.[13] The writing of *-eṃ* as *-a* may be

12. J. Bloch, *Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes*. Publications du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études, tôme 56. Paris 1946, p. 77.
13. LSI Vol. IV, p. 309.

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explained as a change partly caused by Tamil, cf. Marāṭhī *kacoḷeṃ* and Tamil *kaccōlam*[14]. One may object that Molesworth in his dictionary adds after *kacoḷeṃ* the comment 'sometimes kacoḷa' which weakens our argument. Marāṭhī *Bhoṃsale*, which in Tamil is *Bōsalam*, is another example of final *-e* changed into *-a(m)*.

The phenomenon is of course known in modern Marāṭhī. The Linguistic Survey states: 'Short and long *a* are often interchangeable with *ē*, more especially in the termination *ē̃* of neuter bases, of the instrumental and of verbal forms...The *a* forms are not admitted into literature or into the language of the educated classes in the Dekhan, but are quite common in the Konkan, Berar and the Central Provinces'[15]. The forms in these documents may thus be an early acceptance into the written language of a feature which was widespread in spoken Marāṭhī. As for *-yā* written as *-e*, the Linguistic Survey similarly states that *ē* is commonly interchangeable with *yā*[16]. On the other hand it is most probably because of Tamil influence that aspirates are written as unaspirates and there is uncertainty about the quality of the unvoiced sibilants.

To this analysis of the formula types of documents, the receipts and the reminders, we will add comments on the formula type of language occurring in the rest of the documents, i.e. the language used in the address and in the initial as well as the final phrases of polite greetings. Since examples of this formula type of language occur throughout the material, they may throw further light on the features which are characteristic of the receipts and the reminders.

With certain minor variations the phrases express the following: 'The reason for this petition is as follows: After learning about the happy well-being in this place you must write continually the news of your (own) happy well-being ...What more is there to write? Let there be affectionate love (between us). This was the matter I had to mention'. (document no. 6, Marāṭhī text 1.8-10 and 73-74). These and similar phrases occur in nos. 2, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 29, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48 and 49 to 62. They are not used in any receipts; the wish to learn about the addressee's well-being is not found at first in the letters from the kings, but only from ministers and other letter-writers ranking below the king. It seems to have been beneath the dignity of a king to express such wishes. Such is the pattern from the earliest documents up to no. 31, dated 22.09.1788. The next letter extant from the king is no. 35, dated 26.08.1802; it contains practically the same phrase of polite wishes as used hitherto only by ministers, etc. In all the

14. P.C. Ganeshsundaram & V.I. Subramoniam, 'Marāṭhī loans in Tamil'. IL 14, 1954, 114.
15. LSI Vol. VII, p. 21.
16. Ibid. p. 22.

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remaining letters it is used by all letter-writers, with the exception of no. 44, dated 02.04.1806, from King Śeraphoji to the interim governor Peter Hermanson. We take as a basis for comparisons no. 6, since it is somewhat more detailed than the very first document containing the phrases.

The first syntactic unit is *mohavala makasuda uki* 'the reason for this (humble) petition is as follows' (no. 6, 1.8). All three (or four, since *uki* comes from *āṃ ki*) words are of Persian or Arabic origin. The phrase is complete, containing both nouns *mohavala makasuda,* in documents nos. 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, but reduced to the word *makasuda* only, in nos. 8, 14, 17, 18, 22, 24 and 32. In either instance the words are followed by a form of *uki.* This word occurs alone without the two preceding words from document no. 21 onwards, in various spellings, in the following letters: nos. 21, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 61 and 62. The word *uki* from *āṃ ki* 'that which' means here 'as follows'; it is not used in the letters from the kings which do otherwise contain the phrase of polite address, since the kings start their letters with a formula ending in *yaiseṃ jeṃ*, normally transliterated *yaiseṃjeṃ* 'as follows'. This word occurs in nos. 35, 37, 40, 48, 49, 51, 56, 59 and 60. There is in addition a small number of documents which similarly do not use *uki* but start the phrase with *yethila* (nos. 2 and 25). The letter from Poona, no. 29, has *upari yethila...* The forms of *uki* represented in the entire collection are *uki* (nos. 6 and 10), *uṃki* (nos. 8, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22 and 24), *uṃkiṃ* (no. 32), *aṃki* (nos. 11, 12, 36, 38, 41, 42, 45, and 46), *āṃki* (nos. 39, 43, 52, 54, 55 and 57), *aki* (no. 50), *ǎṃki* (no. 53), *aṃkiṃ (no. 58) ākiṃ* (no. 61), and *āki* (no. 62).

Thus a form which must reflect the spoken language, i.e. *uki, uṃki* and *uṃkiṃ*, is used in the early documents, among nos. 6 to 32, dated from 1759 to 1791; forms identical with or close to the original Persian, i.e. *aṃki, āṃki,* occur, with the exception of nos. 11 and 12, from 1764, only in the late documents among nos. 36 to 57, dated from 1802 to 1834. In the very latest documents more irregular spellings occur, i.e. *aki, ǎṃki, aṃkiṃ, ākiṃ* and *āki,* among letters nos. 50 to 62, dated from 1824 to 1844.

It is also among the latest documents that we find the function of *āṃki,* etc. emphasised by other means. From no. 50 there are open spaces before and/or after *āṃki* (nos. 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58), and from no. 55 there is punctuation in the shape of dashes, either after *āṃki* (nos. 55, 57) or before (nos. 61 and 62).

The next syntactic unit is *yethila khusihali khabara jāṇauna* (no. 6, 1.9). Marāṭhī *yethila* remains unchanged throughout. The word *khusihali* 'happy well-being' is found in the forms *khuśāhāli* (no. 2), *khusihali* (no. 6 twice), *khuśahāli* (no. 10) and *khuśāli* (no. 11). Thus this word borrowed from Persian is used only in the initial polite greetings and only in the very earliest documents. It undergoes a gradual reduction until it finally assumes the form *khuśāli,* which except for *-i* representing *-ī* is identical with that given in Molesworth's

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dictionary. The Poona document has *kuśela* (no. 29, 1.5), which must be from Sanskrit *kuśala* with the same meaning.

The word *khusi* 'welfare', borrowed from Persian, occurs instead of *khuśāli* in no. 2 (1.7). It is found in the following forms: *khusi* (no. 2, 1.7; no. 8, 1.6; no. 43, 1.5 twice), *khuśi* (no. 10, 1.7; no. 11, 1.6-7; no. 12, 1.4 and 5; no. 13, 1.5 and 6) and *khuṣi* (no. 14, 1.7; no. 16, 1.11; no. 17, 1.7; no. 18, 1.8; no. 21, 1.9; no. 22, 1.8; no. 24, 1.6; no. 25, 1.3 and 4; no. 30, 1.5; no. 31, 1.21; no. 32, 1.8; no. 35, 1.3; no. 36, 1.4; no. 37, 1.2; no. 39, 1.3; no. 40, 1.3; no. 41, 1.4; no. 42, 1.3; no. 45, 1.5; no. 46, 1.4; no. 48, 1.3; no. 49, 1.3; no. 50, 1.4; no. 51, 1.4; no. 52, 1.5; no. 53, 1.6; no. 54, 1.4; no. 55, 1.6; no. 56, 1.4; no. 57, 1.6; no. 58, 1.6; no. 59, 1.4; no. 61, 1.4 and no. 62, 1.5). Thus we find that the three spellings *khusi, khuśi, khuṣi* are distributed in strict chronological order except for no. 43; this is the only document of a more private nature and it therefore contains a number of differences from the rest of the contemporaneous material. Furthermore we see that this Persian word is used only in the initial polite phrases with the exception of no. 16 (1.11), no. 30(1.5) and no. 31(1.21) These are all letters from the king, where *khusi* is used for the satisfaction or pleasure which the king feels in learning this or that good news.

The word *khabara* 'news' is of Arabic origin and is found with this spelling only. It occurs only in the initial polite phrase.

The last word in the syntactic unit is a Marāṭhī verb, *jāṇauna*. This Old Marāṭhī spelling of the simple absolutive, which in modern Marāṭhī is written as *-ūna,* is used repeatedly in document no. 6, and also with other verbs, e.g. *mhaṇauna* (no. 6, 1.12). It may be noted that the ablative ending, with which the absolutive ending is thought to be related[17], is in this particular document written in a peculiar way, *-āuna, divaṇāuna* (no. 6, 1.12). The absolutive occurs in the form *jāṇauna* (no. 2, 1.7; no. 6, 1.9 and no. 43, 1.5), *jāṇuṃna* (no. 8, 1.6; no. 35, 1.3; no. 36, 1.5; no. 39, 1.3; no. 40, 1.3; no. 41, 1.4; no. 42, 1.3 and no. 45, 1.5), and as *jāṇuna* in the remainder of the initial polite phrases. The letter from Poona, no. 29, has *jāṇona* (1.6). The ending *-ona* is found twice more in our material, this time outside the initial polite phrase, in *pāvona* (no. 4, 1.3) and in *karona* (no. 43, 1.16 and 17). The spellings *jāṇuṃna* and *jāṇuna* must be regarded as the regular absolutives. As for absolutives in *-auna,* it is often difficult to ascertain whether they are formed from the simple or the causative verb; a list of them has therefore not been made. The only verb in our material which occurs very often with this spelling, i.e. *mhaṇauna* 'having said', can with a fair degree of certainty be taken as the absolutive of the simple verb, in the sense of 'that'.. It is found in frequent use in documents nos. 6, 8, 11, 12, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32 and 35; the normal absolutive *mhaṇu(ṃ)na* occurs also throughout the material from no. 2 being written as *maṇuna*

17. A. Master, *A Grammar of Old Marathi.* Oxford 1964, p. 143.

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from no. 48 onwards. In his discussion of the *-aun-* absolutive suffix Alfred Master has to rule out a number of Old Marāṭhī verbs which could be 'a reflection of a causal'. He is then left with three verbs which are undisputably simple absolutives, *ghālauni, mhaṇaunu* and *jāṇauna*[18]. Thus the two above-mentioned absolutives are among them, and Master's idea that the *-aun-* absolutive of the simple verb is linked with specific verbs rather than occurring with all verbs at a particular (early) stage in the development of absolutive suffixes seems to be confirmed by our material.

The last part of the initial polite phrase is *āpali khusihali khabara hameśā lihita gela pāhije* (no. 6, 1.9-10). The Marāṭhī reflexive and personal pronoun 'your, 'your own' is written *āpali* in no. 6, and *apali* in nos. 2, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 36 and 45; the ambiguous spelling *ăpali* is found in no. 43. The correct Marāṭhī spelling is with long initial *ā-*. Outside the initial phrase we have in two documents an Old Marāṭhī spelling *aphulyā* or *apulyā* (no. 48, 1.15) and *apulyā* (no. 44, 1.13 and 1.14). The letter from Poona, no. 29, has instead of *apali* the phrase *tumhā kaḍila*. No. 32 has Persian *khuda* 'own' which occurs only twice otherwise, namely in nos. 12 and 13 next to *apali* in the phrase under discussion. From no. 35 onwards the expression *tumhā kaḍila* already met with in the Poona letter is used instead of the older Marāṭhī and Persian words (nos. 35, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48 to 62). This is also written as *tumhāṃ kaḍila* (nos. 40, 41 and 42). There is thus a shift from honorific to respectful terms of address.

In the letter proper we find the following distribution of *apaṇa/āpaṇa, apalā/āpalā* and *tumhi, tumacā*. The kings use *tumhi, tumacā* in all cases (nos. 4, 7, 16, 19, 20, 23, 26, 28, 30, 31, 35, 37, 40, 44, 48, 49, 51, 56, 59 and 60) to the addressee. As mentioned above *tumhā kaḍila* is also used in the initial polite phrase from the king in all those cases where such a wish is expressed. Agreement between the pronoun used in the initial phrase and the one used in the letter, i.e. *tumhā kaḍila* followed by *tumhi, tumacā*, is found in all documents from no. 35 onwards with the exception of nos. 36, 43 and 45. Agreement between *apali/āpali* in the polite phrase and *apaṇa/āpaṇa*, etc. in the actual letter is found in nos. 2, 10, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, while no. 32 has the Persian *khuda* 'own' followed by *apaṇa* in the actual letter. There are a few documents where in one or the other part of the letter the pronoun is missing or not written (nos. 8, 9, 15 and 27). No less than nine documents show disagreement between the pronouns; the honorific *apali/āpali* in the initial polite phrase is followed by the respectful *tumhi, tumacā* in the actual letter (nos. 6, 11, 12, 13, 24, 25, 36, 43, and 45). It is hard to give reasons for such an obvious discrepancy. Perhaps the respective positions of the letter-writer and the addressee may account for it. No. 6 is from the havildar to the governor; nos. 11, 12 and 13

18. Ibid. p. 144.

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from the mediator to the governor, nos. 24 and 45 from the minister to the governor, while no. 36 is to the governor from an official at the Tanjore court whose position we do not know; no. 25 is from a minister to a member of the government at Tranquebar, while no. 36 is from the mediator to the governor's secretary. It is not impossible that the honorific term was kept by convention or copied as a set initial phrase, irrespective of the term used in the actual letter.

In some cases we find slightly more complex terms before *hameśā*, e.g. *apali khuṣi va ṣādamānici khabara hameṣā kalami keleṃ pāhije* (no. 25, 1.4-5). The relation between the nouns is shown by inflection, i.e. the genitive ending *-ci.* Otherwise in the polite phrases we find throughout the material the nouns simply juxtaposed. Instead of *ṣādamāni* another Persian term *khayeriyeta* (no. 32, 1.8), or *khairyeta* (no. 43, 1.6) 'well-being' is twice used. From no. 35 onwards *ṣādamāni* is supplemented by the Arabic word *hakikata* 'statement' (nos. 35-38, 40, 41 and 48-62).

The verbal phrases for 'writing' coming last in the polite phrases vary between *kalame karita* (nos. 12, 14, 17, 18, 22, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48-61), *kalami karita* (nos. 21, 24 and 43) and *lihita* (nos. 6, 10, 11 and 13). The forms *kalami keleṃ* (no. 25) and *kalami karuna* (no. 32) also occur.

The past (participle) following the present participles mentioned above are *geleṃ*(no. 2, 1.8), *gela* (no. 6, 1.10), with the ending *-la* where *-le(ṃ)* would be expected, *asile* (no. 12, 1.5) and *asila* (no. 13, 1.6) with again the ending *-la* instead of *-le(ṃ)*. The participle from *yeṇeṃ* is the most frequent, appearing in a series of spellings: *ale* (nos. 10, 11, 14, 17 and 18), *aleṃ* (nos. 21, 22, 24, 36, 38, 39, 45, 46 and 50), *ǎleṃ* (nos. 41 and 42), *āle* (nos. 43 and 58) and *āleṃ* (nos. 52, 53, 55, 57, 59 and 61). The correct initial vowel is *ā-*. As can be seen in the Moḍī originals, many of the initial *ā- akṣaras* are possibly *a-*, written in a very slovenly way.

In all the above-mentioned instances, and also in nos. 25 and 32, the form *pāhije* is added to express the obligation for the addressee to write a statement of his (own) well-being. In one case the obligation is expressed instead by the obligational of *yeṇeṃ*, i.e. *yāveṃ* (no. 35, 1.3). The letter from Poona also uses the obligational, but from *jāṇeṃ*, i.e. *jāve* (no. 29, 1.7). The verbal noun *yeṇeṃ* may alone express the obligation: *yeṇa* (no. 37), *yeṇeṃ* (nos. 40, 48, 54, 56, 60 and 62) and *yeṇe* (no. 49).

The final polite phrases show less variation than the initial ones. In the case of no. 6 almost all such types of greetings are represented. First comes *jyādā kāye lihiṇe* 'what more (is there) to write' (nos. 6, 10, 11 and 13). The phrase, composed of one Arabic and two Marāṭhī words, is taken over from Persian letter-writing and may also appear in slightly different forms, e.g. no. 15 (incomplete) and no. 29 have Sanskrit *viśeṣa* instead of Arabic *jyādā*. As the ligature *jyā-* is not always easily distinguishable from *jayā-*, the spelling of this word will not be discussed; the earliest occurrence, no. 2, alone has a clearly

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written *jayādā,* which is the older spelling. Instead of *lihiṇe* we find *kalame/-i karaṇeṃ*; nos. 4, 7, 16, 17, 18, 35-42, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61 and 62 all with *-e* and nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32 all with *-i.* In comparison with the initial phrase, one can see that there is some, but not complete, consistency in the distribution of *-i* and *-e* from beginning to end of each letter. The verbal noun is written *karaṇeṃ* (nos. 4, 7, 16, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 32, 40, 41, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57 and 62), *karaṇe* (nos. 14, 17, 18, 19, 26, 28, 49, 58 and 61) and *karaṇa* (nos. 35-39, 42, 44, 45 and 46). The question of *-a* instead of *-e(ṃ)* in the final syllable of the verbal noun has been discussed above (p. 54). The auxiliary *ase* may be added in various spellings, viz. *ase, āse, ǎse* or *ǎseṃ*. Before the phrase may occur *dosticyā ṭhāi* (no. 14, 1.23; no. 18, 1.30), written also *dostice ṭāi* (no. 19, 1.19; no. 26, 1.32; no. 27, 1.10-11; no. 28, 1.17 and no. 31, 1.31) and *dostice ṭāiṃ* (no. 20, 1.23; no. 30, 1.21 and no. 32, 1.30). Final *-e* for correct *-yā* has been discussed elsewhere (p. 56). This accretion *dosticyāl-e ṭ(h)āi(ṃ)* is not met with from no. 35 onwards.

The next part of the polite phrase is *pyāra mohabata āsoṃ dije* (no. 6, 1.73-74) 'let there be affectionate love (between us)'. The nouns *pyāra mohabata* (no. 2, 1.16; no. 6, 1.73; no. 14, 1.24; no. 17, 1.45-46; no. 18, 1.31; no. 21, 1.36 and no. 22, 1.26) are unchanged throughout. The word *pyāra* occurs only in this phrase; Arabic *mohabata* occurs also in *dāma mohabatahu* 'may his favour remain perpetual' and with the exception of *mohabatarhu* (no. 10, 1.4; no. 12, 1.2 and no. 13, 1.3) and *mohabǎta* (no. 54, 1.3; no. 61, 1.3 and no. 62, 1.4) *mohabata* is also unchanged in the rest of the material. The variants are probably due to scribal negligence. The supine or infinitive, which in modern Marāṭhī ends in *-ūṃ*, occurs in this phrase in four forms, viz. *aso* (no. 2, 1.6), *āsoṃ* (no. 6, 1.73), *asu* (no. 14, 1.24) and *asuṃ* (no. 17, 1.46; no. 18, 1.31; no. 21, 1.36 and no. 22, 1.26). The spelling *asoṃ* is also found in a slightly different context in no. 2(1.18). The *-o(ṃ)* forms belong to Old Marāṭhī. The passive *dije* from *deṇeṃ* is listed and discussed with the other old passives elsewhere (p. 79).

The following part of the final phrases is *he kitābati* 'this was the matter I had to mention' (no. 6, 1.73). The phrase is in all instances written in the same way (no. 2, 1.16-17; no. 6, 1.74; no. 8, 1.34; no. 10, 1.16; no. 11, 1.22; no. 12, 1.14 and no. 13, 1.11). Its use is thus restricted to the early documents dated from 1741 to 1766. The last word in no. 6 is *saiṃ* (1.73) 'approved of', which occurs only there. In one case (no. 23, 1.55) a polite final phrase is altogether missing but is probably not left out by mistake. The omission is rather a means of stressing the embittered anger of the letter-writer against the behaviour of the addressee.

To illustrate the character of the phrases contained in the polite initial and final phrases we may consider the comments made on them by D.V.Apte and R.V. Oturkar in their *Sādhana-Parichaya or Mahārasṭracha Patra-Rūpa-Itihā-*

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sa (Poona 1941) concerning letter 235 which also occurs as no. 12 in vol. 42 of the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Bombay 1934. The words *aṃki, khairayata, śādamānī, hameśā, kalamī karīta, jiyādā, pyāra, mahabata* and *he kitābata* are translated or paraphrased. The word *kīje* occurs also in this letter but is left uncommented. The letter is dated 21. October 1822 A.D. It is addressed to the Honourable Mount Stuart Elphinstone and the fact that the addressee is a European may account for the occurrence of so many antiquated phrases, which are used mainly in letters to non-Hindus. Many of them had long since ceased to be used in similar documents from the Tanjore court. In our material *khairayata* occurs only twice, in no. 32 and no. 43, dated 1791 and at some date before 1806. The phrase *pyāra mahabata* occurs for the last time in no. 22, dated 1786. The words *he kitābata* disappear altogether after their occurrence in no. 13, dated 1765. To the three final polite phrases of this Poona Marāṭhī letter corresponds in our contemporaneous documents (no. 48-50, 1823-1824) only one, which occurs in a shorter and a longer version, viz. *jyādā kāya ase* and *jyādā kalame karaṇeṃ kāya ase*. From the turn of the 18th century, from no. 35 onwards, these two versions of the phrase are the only ones to be used, the shorter one exclusively by the king. It is surprising that the Poona Marāṭhī kept so many phrases so late just as it is surprising that the correspondence of 42 years from the Tanjore court contained only one unchanged phrase througout. This lack of change and development in the last period is in contrast to a free variation of final phrases in the documents nos. 2-18, dated from 1741 to 1780, to be succeeded by a more phrasebound style in nos. 19-32, dated from 1784 to 1791.

To sum up: the vocabulary of this formula type of polite language, which occurs in almost all documents, is to a very large extent Persian and Arabic, as noticed already in the analysis of the receipts. Several of the terms disappear at an early stage, e.g. *mohavala makasuda* after 1791, *khuśāli* after 1764, and *khabara* after 1765. On the other hand, Arabic *hakikata* is introduced from 1802 and used until the last document. The Old Marāṭhī absolutive *jāṇauna* occurs sporadically in 1741, 1759 and between 1803 and 1806, whereas *mhaṇauna* in the letter proper disappears after 1802. The Old Marāṭhī supine in *-oṃ* disappears after 1759. It is surprising that the sibilant of Persian *khusi* is written dental (1741-1762), palatal (1764 and 1765) and as cerebral (1776-1844) in strict chronological order with only one exception. Neither *sādamāni* nor *nisiṃ* followed such a clear pattern in the choice of sibilant. Noteworthy are the spellings *gela* and *asila* for *-le(ṃ)* which occur very early, in 1759 and 1765; the other example of this phenomenon, viz. *karaṇa* for *karaṇeṃ* occurs in the years from 1802 to 1806, see p. 54. The general pattern which emerges is that the language of the polite phrases undergoes a gradual simplification throughout the 18th century; the choice of polite phrases is slowly reduced, and the Old Marāṭhī form disappear. In the three first documents from letter-writers other

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than the king, for example, the initial phrases are all different, and so are the final ones, though to a lesser extent (nos. 2, 6 and 10, dated from 1741 to 1764). In the three last documents from letter-writers other than the king, the initial phrase is word for word the same, with the exception of the verbal form chosen to express obligation; the final phrase is identical in the three cases, except for variations in spelling (nos. 58, 61 and 62, dated from 1835 to 1844). The number of words is, however, almost the same in the initial phrases, whereas in the final phrases the number is much reduced.

Vocabulary of normal language

The vocabulary of the normal type of language is dealt with from the point of view of standard Marāṭhī as represented in Molesworth's dictionary. Those parts of our vocabulary which are not listed in this work fall into two main categories: words of Dravidian origin and words of Persian or Arabic origin. Not all words belong clearly to only one of these categories. Some Persian, Arabic (and Sanskrit) words written in a 'Dravidian' spelling are discussed under the first group.

The main bulk of the vocabulary used in our material is included in Molesworth; that, however, is far from implying that it is identical with the vocabulary used in Poona Marāṭhī letters of the same content belonging to the same period. Even if it were found to be identical, it does not follow that the meaning covered by one and the same word in the two areas is the same. As there does not exist any analysis of the development of Poona Marāṭhī vocabulary in the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries it would require a separate study to establish the differences between the two vocabularies and the way in which they are used in Poona and Tanjore in that period; such a separate study falls outside the scope of the present description. Here we will limit ourselves to a mere numerical investigation into the proportions of (Marāṭhī) words of Persian and Arabic origin, of Indo-Aryan origin and of Dravidian and European origin; it is added to this chapter as an appendix.

Besides the vocabulary not found in Molesworth which is listed below, a list of other words listed in Molesworth but written here with a somewhat different spelling from the normal one, will be found in the general word index.

The number of Dravidian words adopted into the Marāṭhī language of the Tanjore court is very small; there are eight in all. There are, moreover, eleven words borrowed from other languages via Dravidian.

The Dravidian words[19] are

aḍamāna 'mortgage', Tamil, Malayāḷam (DED 69) (no. 4, 1.6; no. 32, 1.19)

19. I owe the information on Dravidian contained in the following lists of words to Prof.

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uḷa 'in, within (the village)', Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu (DED 600) (no. 31, 1.24)
kaṇampana 'deed of mortgage', Malayāḷam (*kāṇam* DED 1210) (no. 32, 1.22)
kāvalagāra 'watch, warden', Tamil, Kannaḍa (*kāvali* DED 1192). It occurs once with this spelling (no. 2, 1.10), and once written *kāvaligāra* (no. 17, 1.8)
kāvali 'position of watch/warden', Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu (DED 1192) (no. 11, 1.11 & 14; no. 13, 1.7 & 9; no. 17, 1.39)
vaḍaka 'northern', Tamil, Malayāḷam (DED 4267) (no. 2, 1.9; no. 3, 1.7; no. 5, 1.9 & 22; no. 33, 1.10; no. 34, 1.10; no. 47, 1.10)
valā 'letter', Kannaḍa (DED 903?) (no. 6, 1.34)
vāraka 'advance', Tamil, Malayāḷam, Telugu (DED 4389) (no. 32, 1.20)

The words of non-Dravidian origin borrowed into Tanjore Marāṭhī via Dravidian are
ampachi 'āśvina', Sanskrit *āśvayuj,* Tamil *aippaci* (no. 22, 1.34)
ăsti 'personal property', Sanskrit *asti* in a Tamil (Kannaḍa, Malayāḷam and Telugu) usage (no. 42, 1.11)
kāryesta, kāryastha 'agent', Sanskrit in a Tamil, Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam usage (no. 10, 1.8 & 12-13; no. 16, 1.8 & 11; no. 23, 1.35 & 36-37; no. 24, 1.51 & 55; no. 25, 1.47; no. 31, 1.15)
gutagā 'rent', Marāṭhī *gutakā* under the influence of Kannaḍa *guttige* (no. 3, 1.4 & 8; no. 5, 1.4, 10 & 22-23; no. 20, 1.5, 11, 12 & 16; no. 21, 1.22, 23 & 31; no. 22, 1.12-13 & 14; no. 32, 1.23; no. 33, 1.7 & 9; no. 34, 1.7 & 9; no. 38, 1.10 & 22; no. 47, 1.7 & 9). In nos. 3, 1.4 and 5, 1.4 we find the old oblique *gutagiyā* and in no. 38, 1.22 *gutiyā*. The rest of the examples quoted are the direct form written *gutagā* and *guttagā* and the modern oblique in *gutagyā*. Prof. S.G. Tulpule suggests a Sanskrit etymology *guṭikā* 'pellet, pill, pearl'.
gutagedāra 'contractor', Kannaḍa *guttegedāra* (no. 43, 1.16)
bādhya 'obliged', 'right to inheritance', Sanskrit in a Kannaḍa (Tamil, Malayāḷam and Telugu) usage (no. 23, 1.51; no. 24, 1.60). It is once written *bădhya* (no. 52, 1.11)
bădhyascha 'heir', Sanskrit in a Kannaḍa usage (no. 51, 1.13)
māghāṇa 'land, district', Arabic in a Tamil usage (no. 4, 1.4 & 8; no. 20, 1.5, 8 & 11; no. 21, 1.18, 22 & 31; no. 22, 1.12; no. 31, 1.13 & 24-25; no. 32, 1.20. It occurs once in the form *māganāsa* (no. 6, 1.52)
vaṭa 'district', Sanskrit *vṛttam,* Prakrit *vaṭṭa* in a Tamil usage (no. 2, 1.9-10; no. 3, 1.7; no. 5, 1.9 & 22; no. 33, 1.10; no. 34, 1.10; no. 47, 1.10)
vardi 'news' Sanskrit and Marāṭhī *vārtā* under the influence of Kannaḍa *varadi,* Malayāḷam *varudi* (no. 43, 1.14)

J. Filliozat of Paris and Dr. J. Filipský of Prague and refer for further details to T. Burrow & M.B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian etymological dictionary* (DED), *Kannada – russkiĭ slovar',* F. Kittel, *Kannada-English dictionary, Malayalam lexicon, Tamil lexicon* and *Telugu- russkiĭ slovar',* cf. the bibliography.

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vaikhāsi 'vaiśākha', Tamil *vaikāci* (no. 20, 1.29; no. 21, 1.43)
The words listed above occur between 1741 and 1832, the majority of occurrences falling in the first half of this period. Of these words only four can be said to be frequent, viz. *vaṭa, vaḍaka, gutagā* and *māghāṇa*. Of these only the second is genuinely Dravidian; moreover, with the exception of the first instance, dated 1741 it occurs only in the receipts which do not represent the normal language. The word *gutagā* is only partly influenced by Kannaḍa, *kāryesta, kāryastha* by Tamil, Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam usage and thus *māghāṇa* is the only Tamil word, borrowed from Arabic, which may be said to be frequent in the normal language. It is found from 1753 to 1791..

Two of the remaining words, viz. *vardi* and *gutagedāra* occur only in no. 43, written between 1803 and 1806; this letter is not an official letter from the court proper but a letter of a more private nature from a court officer. This may imply that the Marāṭhī used outside the administrative circles of the court contained more Dravidian words than the official court language.

Of the complete set of Dravidian words and words borrowed from other languages in a Dravidian shape or meaning, *aḍamāna, ǎsti, kaṇampana, kāryesta (kāryastha), kāvalagāra, kāvali, bādhya, bǎdhyascha, vaṭa, vaḍaka, vāraka, gutagā, gutagedāra* and *māghāṇa* belong to the judicial sphere, the language of money transactions or the wider range of administrative language. That is 14 words out of 19, or approximately 75%. Of the rest, viz. *uḷa, vardi, valā, ampachi* and *vaikhāsi*, four belong to the sphere of information, namely *vardi, valā, ampachi* and *vaikhāsi*. The last word *uḷa* is remarkable as it is not a noun like all the other 18, but an adverb denoting place within. It is the only instance in the entire material of a 'preposition' which does not belong to normal (Poona) Marāṭhī.

Thus the 'Dravidian' words occur from 1741 to 1832 and the major number of occurrences fall in the earlier part of the period. The fact that the number of Tamil words did not increase in course of time could be taken as proof of a high level of 'purism' by the speakers and users of court Marāṭhī; it may, however, just as well be a sign that Marāṭhī was becoming isolated and out of touch with everyday life and usage. It became restricted to a certain limited type of communication which, as the political events dictated, concerned a sharply reduced number of people having a more and more limited range of functions in society.

The number of Persian and Arabic words found in our material but not included in Molesworth is small; there are 18 words belonging to the general vocabulary and 16 expressing courtesy, of which six soon take on a formulaic character. The first group consists of the following:
khayerakhvāhā 'well-wisher', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 20, 1.17; no. 21, 1.27; no. 30, 1.14; no. 31, 1.22)
khalala 'trouble', Arabic' (Paṭvardhan) (no. 24, 1.18)

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khāra 'plunder→damage', Arabic-Persian (Steingass 878) (no. 8, 1.12)
jāmevara 'flowered/striped shawl piece', Persian (Steingass 352/Hobson-Jobson 707 b) (no. 18, 1.36)
tophā 'tribute', Arabic (Paṭvardhan). For the complete list of occurrences and the distribution of older and more modern type of oblique forms see p. 51.
daphe 'time', Arabic (Paṭvardhan) (no. 21, 1.11; no. 26, 1.8)
daragujara 'postponement', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 23, 1.45-46)
darajavāba 'answer', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 23, 1.14; no. 46, 1.10)
philahāla 'now', Arabic (Paṭvardhan) (no. 37, 1.5)
bāje 'other', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 14, 1.22-23; no. 16, 1.19; no. 18, 1.25; no. 37, 1.16; no. 40, 1.9; no. 44, 1.24; no. 49, 1.9; no. 56, 1.7; no. 60, 1.8; these two last transliterated *bǎje*)
marhāmata 'token of favour', Arabic (Paṭvardhan) (no. 13, 1.9)
mahatābi 'bright as the moon', Persian (Steingass 1352) (no. 18, 1.34, 35, 36, 42 & 43; no. 30, 1.18; no. 32, 1.15)
muhre 'clerk', Arabic (Wilson s.v. *muharrir*) (no. 43, 1.17)
mophasala 'in detail', Arabic (Paṭvardhan) (no. 42, 1.15)
sarabarā-[...] 'performance', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 43, 1.19)
sābaka 'old', Arabic (Paṭvardhan) (no. 41, 1.6)
suālimokārā 'representation of the circumstances of the case', Arabic (Wilson) (no. 2, 1.13-14)
hamarāhā 'by the hand of', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 45, 1.10 & 15).

Only two words are frequent, viz. *tophā* which occurs from 1725 to 1844 and *bāje,* which is found in nine instances from 1776 to 1837. Both belong to the strictly administrative language. Of the rest, a few are early, namely *khāra* from 1762, *marhāmata* from 1766 and *suālimokārā* from 1741. They are all nouns and their use is not restricted to the administrative language. The rest span the period from 1779 to 1806 with half of the occurrences before and half after 1800. The words *khayerakhvāhā, khalala, jāmevara, daragujara, darajavāba, mahatābi, muhre, sarabarā*-[...] and *sābaka* are nouns, of which *daragujara, darajavāba, muhre,* partly *sarabarā*-[...] and *sābaka* belong to the administrative type of language, while *khayerakhvāhā, jāmevara, mahatābi* and partly *sarabarā*-[...] belong to the sphere of polite diplomatic relations. The word *khalala* seems to be more of a business term.

The remaining four words, viz. *daphe, philahāla, mophasala, hamarāhā* also belong to the very formal type of communication, *philahāla* being an adverb and the three other nouns being used adverbially. In the case of *philahāla, mophasala* and *hamarāhā,* occurring only in 1804, 1805 and 1806 respectively, it is surprising to find a sudden use of such incongruous adverbial phrases at a stage of the language where the 'old' Persian and Arabic words had for the most part disappeared and more genuine Marāṭhī or Sanskrit terms had taken their place.

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This raises the question of whether Tanjore Marāṭhī exhibits two intakes of Persian and Arabic vocabulary, one being the old set 'imported' from Poona Marāṭhī which gradually disappeared or merged with the normal language, and a second much more artificial adoption of Persian and Arabic terms, closely linked to the usage of the (small) Tanjore court staff in the very early years of the 19th century, i.e. from 1803 to 1806, with a smaller wave of Persian and Arabic nouns entering into the language in the late 1780's. For such an artificial, late adoption of Persian, cf. the use of *darāyeda* 'to be forwarded to' on the envelopes of letters dated 1805 and 1806.

In any case it seems unlikely that the Persian and Arabic words appearing in those years, from the 1780's to 1806, are mere reappearances of words which were used earlier, then pushed out by Sanskrit vocabulary, and finally reintroduced. It is probable that only *khāra, tophā, marhāmata* and *suālimokārā* go back to the old 'imported' Marāṭhī. All the words, however, except *darāyeda,* were in use in older Marāṭhī, as can be seen from the fact that they are listed in Paṭvardhan's dictionary.

The expressions of courtesy of Persian and Arabic origin which are not listed in Molesworth's dictionary are:

akarama 'most noble', Arabic (Steingass 89), occurring 36 times, (nos. 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 32, 36, 38, 41, 45, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58 & 61. The lines are not listed since they are invariably the first and last lines of each letter, nor are the variant spellings with *ā-* or *ǎ*-given, since they are only due to scribal negligence)

anuvāri 'most brilliant', Arabic (Steingass 116) (no. 2, 1.4)

i(ṃ) 'this', i.e. 'your (honour)', Persian (Steingass 132 & 352, Paṭvardhan s.v. *īṃ*). It is found twice in the form *i* (no. 2, 1.3; no. 29, 1.3) and in the rest of the occurrences as *iṃ* (no. 6, 1.6; no. 14, 1.5; no. 17, 1.4; no. 18, 1.5; no. 21, 1.7; no. 22, 1.6; no. 32, 1.6)

kadardāṃ 'appreciator of merit', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 43, 1.2). It is written *kadaradāṃ* in no. 43, 1.22.

karaṃpharmāye 'kind', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 43, 1.2 & 22)

dastagāhaḥ 'where ... is exercised' → 'treasure of ...', Persian (Paṭvardhan), occurring 79 times, from no. 4 to no. 62 in the spellings *dastagāhaḥ*, *-hā, -hāḥ*, *-ṃhā, -hāṃ* where the early occurrences perhaps retain a Persian case ending; from no. 16, dated 1778 onwards, it is merely a part of a stock phrase.

dila 'heart', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 2, 1.5; no. 6, 1.8; no. 32, 1.9)

panāhā 'shelter', Persian (Paṭvardhan), occurring 29 times (nos. 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 32, 36, 38, 41, 45, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58) in the spellings *panāhā, -āḥ, -āha, -āhāṃ* out of which *-āḥ* and *-āha* are closest to the Persian form. It becomes merely a part of a stock phrase early on.

makhaliśāna 'of love', Persian (Paṭvardhan), occurring 30 times (nos. 6, 8, 10,

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11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 32, 36, 38, 41, 45, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58) in the spellings *makhaliśāna, mokhaliśāni, -sāni, -śāna, -sāna, -ṣāna, -sāṃna, -sāṃ, -śāṃ* & *-śā* of which those ending in *-āna* are closer to Persian. It becomes merely a part of a stock phrase early on.
māba 'style', viz. *vajārata māba* (Steingass 1136 and 1466) (no. 45, 1.4; no. 46, 1.4; no. 50, 1.3)
mulāja 'protector', Arabic (Steingass 1303) (no. 39, 1.1; no. 42, 1.1 & 19; no. 46, 1.2 & 14)
muṣaphaka 'gracious', Arabic (Paṭvardhan) (no. 43, 1.2 & 22)
mohibāna 'of the friends', Arabic (Paṭvardhan), occurring 30 times (nos. 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 32, 36, 38, 41, 45, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58) in the spellings *mohibāna, -bāṃna* and *-bina* of which the first is closest to the Arabic form. It becomes merely a part of a stock phrase.
śāri 'habit, practice', Arabic (Steingass 746, Paṭvardhan s.v. *murvata-śārī*) (no. 2, 1.4)
sadākata 'faithfulness', Arabic (Paṭvardhan) occurring 43 times among nos. 4 to 55 with the same spelling throughout.
sāda 'happy', Persian (Paṭvardhan) (no. 2, 1.5; no. 6, 1.8).

The words *akarama, dastagāhaḥ, panāhā, makhaliśāna, mohibāna* and *sadākata* are the most frequent courtesy words which soon ceased to be part of the more normal language. They will not be dealt with further. Of the rest we may distinguish an early group, viz. *anuvāri, śāri* and *sāda,* which occur in only two letters, dated 1741 and 1759. There are two words which occur both early and in a 'middle' period, namely *i(ṃ)* and *dila,* which were both in use between 1741 and 1791. The rest, viz. *kadardāṃ, karaṃpharmāye, māba, mulāja* and *muṣaphaka,* all occur in the years from 1804 to 1806 with the exception of one late occurrence of *māba,* in 1824. We may see here a confirmation of the hypothesis that Tanjore Marāṭhī borrowed from Persian and Arabic anew in the early years of the 19th century. Three of the five words, however, occur only in one document, no. 43, which is, as has often been mentioned, of a more unofficial nature. It also contains Dravidian words not found in the court's official correspondence.

A comparison between the vocabularies of no. 43 and no. 29 (from Poona) on the one hand and the rest of the material on the other is found in the Appendix to this chapter.

One word is listed only in Tulpule's *Tanjore Marāṭhī dictionary,* namely *dusta* 'present (of clothes)'. No etymology is given and the sense is rendered by *perāvā,* Molesworth *peharāva* or *peharāvā.*

One word is not found in any of the dictionaries, which are at my disposal, viz. *nāgayā (nāgā)* 'agent', frequent in the expression *nāgayā hejiba* 'by the hand of the agent'. The Danish translation renders *nāgayā* by 'Nagayen'; it

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seems to be used as a proper name, derived from the name of a profession. Both words are used in the 1780's and *dusta* once in 1791 (no. 32, 1.15 twice).[20]

Special features of the normal language

The material is written in a script which does not distinguish between *ĭ* and *ī* or *ŭ* and *ū*. Because of scribal negligence even the distinction between *ă* and *ā* is often not observed. Discrepancies in spelling between a standard Marāṭhī represented by Molesworth and grammars of 'mainland' Marāṭhī and our Tanjore Marāṭhī can therefore only be discussed as far as a shift in the quality of the vowel has taken place. As for the consonants, the Moḍī script does distinguish between aspirate and unaspirate but since there is a widespread tendency in Tanjore Marāṭhī to write both as unaspirate, we shall for the most part give examples of phonetic and orthographic variations from the standard other than the loss of aspiration.

We will not list examples of (spontaneous) nasalisation. They are widespread throughout the material and particularly abundant in the early years of the 19th century.

The palatal on-glide *y*-, e.g. *yeka, yekalāsa, yaikuna, yaivaja* is admitted into writing throughout the material and occurrences will therefore not be listed.

Neither will examples of double consonant instead of single consonant and vice versa, nor the distribution of the various sibilants be dealt with.

There is one instance of the change in quality of an initial vowel, viz.
ajaru 'contract', Persian (no. 21, 1.24). Molesworth *ijārā.*

In initial syllables the following changes occur,
jubāni 'account, statement', Persian (no. 20., 1.15 & 23). Molesworth *jabānī.*
pharaṃgi 'European', Persian (no. 6, 1.28). Molesworth *phiraṃgī.*
bajāija '(ship with) goods', Arabic (no. 6, 1.18-19). Paṭvardhan *bijhāīta*, Molesworth *bichāitī.*
majarā 'exemption', Arabic (no. 6, 1. 18, 53 & 67). Molesworth *mujarā.*
mokāma 'stop, place of residence', Arabic (no. 6, 1.34; no. 23, 1.10; no. 24, 1.11; no. 25, 1.10. Also in the last lines of nos. 48 and 51 to 62). Molesworth *mukāma.*
hajura 'presence', Arabic (very frequent). Molesworth *hujūra.*

20. On these two words Prof. J. Filliozat makes the following observations: "*dustā* figure dans Molesworth avec rapport au tissage, en persan *dastār* 'turban'; tam. *tuttāri* désigne une certaine sorte d'étoffe? *nāgayā* 'agent' fait penser à tam. *nāyakaṉ* (°*gaṉ* en prononciation), 'conducteur'", personal communication of March 1982 to the author.

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In the case of *terikha* (the receipts plus nos. 35, 36, 37, 41, 42 & 45) for Molesworth *tārīkha*, the form *terikha* seems according to Paṭvardhan to represent an old(er) Marāṭhī spelling of Persian *tārīkh*. As for *dekhala* (no. 8, 1.20) for Molesworth *dākhala*, it seems to have been written under the influence of *dekhīla* unless it is the final *-e* which is misplaced, cf. *dakhale* (e.g. no. 15, 1.11).

Thus the trend in initial syllable is for the *i* and *u* vowels to be weakened to *a*. A smaller modification is found in *mokāma* from *mukāma*. The *ju-* is as faithful a rendering of the original Persian sound as is *ja-*, in *jubāni*.

Change of vowel in non-initial syllable takes place in
daravilā 'now', Persian (for occurrences, see p. 53). Molesworth *darīṃvilā*.
jāhera 'known', Arabic (no. 23, 1.32; no. 31, 1.12 & 17). Molesworth *jāhīra*.
tararpha 'charge', Arabic (no. 17, 1.24). Molesworth *tarapha*.

The -iṃ- is weakened to *-a-* and *-ī-* slightly opened to *-e-*. The introduction of an extra *-r-* is unique in the normal language. In the formula type of language we twice have *mohabatarhu* for *mohabatahu* (no. 10, 1.4; no. 12, 1.2). As for
kāyema 'established' → 'fixed', Arabic (no. 36, 1.6). Molesworth *kāīma*,
vājibi 'reasonable', Arabic (no. 2, 1.12-13; no. 20, 1.12; no. 21, 1.24)
vājebi (no. 26, 1.22-23; no 28, 1.11). Molesworth *vājabī*
hāsala 'gain, good', Arabic (no. 31, 1.21; no. 43, 1.12). Molesworth
hāśīla, they are all based on slightly different old(er) Marāṭhī spellings of the Arabic words than Molesworth and will therefore not be relevant for comparison, cf. the entries in Paṭvardhan.

The changes which vowels in final syllables undergo will be discussed under morphology.

There is perhaps less tendency to insert *svarabhakti* vowels in Tanjore Marāṭhī than in Poona Marāṭhī. The following words are written without such vowels: *arbā* 'four', Arabic, *arbaina* 'forty', Arabic, *nakhti* 'money in cash', Arabic, *laskara* 'army', Persian; Molesworth's entry forms are *arabā, arabaina, nagadī* and *laśakara* or *laṣakara*.

The examples of consonantal change are
aṃbala 'government' → 'district under government', Arabic (no. 3, 1.7). Molesworth *amala*.
karatorā 'loin string', Marāṭhī (no. 6, 1.23). Molesworth *karadorā*.
nakhti 'money in cash', Arabic (very frequent). Molesworth *nagadī*.
bajāija '(ship with) goods', Arabic (no. 6, 1.18-19). Paṭvardhan *bijhāīta*, Molesworth *bichāitī*.
-schi for *sthī* and *-scha* for *-stha*, e.g. *madhyaschi, vyasanascha* are frequent in our material.
suralyā 'playing the *sūra*' → 'musicians (on the *sūra*)', Marāṭhī (no. 43, 1. 14-15). Molesworth *suratyā*.

Thus there are minor changes only; in two instances from voiced to unvoi-

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ced, *d* to *t;* in two instances from dental to palatal, unvoiced *t* to voiced *j* and unvoiced *-sth-* to unvoiced *-sch-*, which is however a mere graphical change; and finally one instance of a change from unvoiced dental to voiced cerebral, *-tya* to *-ḷya* which is normal in Dravidian. We have furthermore *tāgāḍā* 'urging the payment of a debt', Arabic (no. 6, 1.40). Molesworth *tāgādā*. The Arabic spelling is *takājhā*. In some cases *tatsamas* like *vṛddhi, prasiddha* are written *vṛtdhi, prasitdha.* The development of the voiced labial consonant *-b-* from *amala* or *ammala* (Paṭvardhan) to *aṃbala* stands as an isolated case.

In the great majority of cases aspirates are written as unaspirate, e.g. *kaṭina, ciṭi, ṭāiṃ, ṭāuka, yekalāsa, pāṭaviṇeṃ, maṇuna* but in a few cases the unaspirates are written as aspirates, *paṭhābhiṣeka, pathaka[ra]* and *phurteṃ* as compared with Molesworth.

It is with the voiced aspirates that further changes take place. *kāhaḍile* (no. 8, 1.13), *kāhāḍuna* (no. 11, 1.12; no. 13, 1.7; no. 24, 1.33 & 39; no. 25, 1.29), *kāhaḍu* (no. 25, 1.33) from the verb *kāḍhaṇeṃ* 'to take out, etc.' and *vāhaḍavita* (no. 35,1. 14) from the verb *vāḍhaṇeṃ* 'to increase'. *gunāha* (no. 28, 1.7) occurs for Molesworth *gunhā* 'crime'. Here it is the Tanjore form, however, which is identical with the Persian form.

There are two cases of metathesis, both involving liquids and unvoiced stops: *kalāpa* 'unrest', Arabic (no. 24, 1.29; no. 25, 1.25; no. 29, 1.9). Molesworth has a form identical with the Arabic *kaphālat*. Kelkar in his dictionary has for the derived adjective both *kalāphatī* and *kaphalatī* 'bhāṃḍakhora', 'quarrelsome'. *nilakha* 'completely', Marāṭhī (no. 18, 1.38). Molesworth *nikkhaḷa*. K.P. Kulkarni gives a farfetched etymology under *nilakha.*[21]

By far the most frequent type of consonant-vowel interaction is that of progressive palatalisation of vowels. The norm is that the palatalisation is not accepted in orthography. The exceptions to this occur from the earliest to the latest documents, e.g. in chronological order *madhesti* (no. 6, 1.16, 25, 42 & 70; no. 11, 1.8) for *madhyasthi; kāryesta* (no. 10, 1.8 & 12-13) for *kāryastha; kāryebhāga* (no. 11, 1.10) for *kāryabhāga; yedanimitya* (no. 11, 1.19) for *yadanimitya; jena* (no. 14, 1.15) for *jana; yethā* (no. 14, 1.12; no. 15, 1.7) for *yathā; nyāyevaṃta* (no. 17, 1.19) for *nyāyavaṃta; rajeba* (no. 20, 1.26-27; no. 21, 1.40) for *rajaba; nyāyemārga* (no. 23, 1.44) for *nyāyamārga; ubhayetāṃ* (very frequent in nos. 24 and 25) for *ubhayatāṃ*; rayeta (very frequent in nos. 25-28) for *rayata; nyāyeniti* (no. 28, 1.8) for *nyāyaniti; yenmuḷeṃ* (no. 30, 1.15) for *yanmuḷeṃ*; *chetrapati* (no. 36, 1.7) for *chatrapati; niśceye* (no. 44, 1. 19), *niśceṃye* (no. 45, 1.14-15) for *niścaye(ṃ).* The form *vevhāra* (no. 2, 1.13) as opposed to *vyavahāra* (no. 26, 1.21 & 22) is an example of an older *tadbhava* form as opposed to a newer *tatsama.*

21. I owe the suggestion of a metathesis to Prof. S.G. Tulpule who also points to a possible influence from *nikhila* 'all'.

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Examples of regressive palatalisation are widespread in the verbal adjectives, e.g. in chronological order *cālāvemyāce* (no. 19, 1.17-18), *pāṭavāvemyācem* (no. 24, 1.14), *vārāveyāsa* (no. 26, 1.21), *karāveyāsa* no. 26, 1.12 & 23); *cālavāveyā* (no. 28, 1.8), *yāveyāci* (no. 28, 1.13), *ghyāveyā* (no. 31, 1.4), *dyāveyāsa* (no. 31, 1.5), *karāvemyā* (no. 31, 1.15), *dyāvemyāsa* (no. 31, 1.18-19), *dyāvemyāce* (no. 31, 1.24), *mānāvemyāsa* (no. 31, 1.27), all for *-vayā-*. In the formal part of the documents we find similarly *lyāhāvemyā* (no. 19, 1.2-3; no. 26, 1.3) and *lyāhāveyā* (no. 28, 1.2; no. 31, 1.3).

Thus it seems that Persian and Arabic words are affected by changes in vowel quality; on the other hand the insertion of a *svarabhakti* vowel is not widespread. The few changes in consonants affect Arabic, Sanskrit and Marāṭhī words. Aspiration is dealt with differently from Poona Marāṭhī in the case of the voiced cerebral aspirates. Progressive palatalisation affects mostly Sanskrit *tatsamas* but also a few other words like *rajeba, rayeta* and maybe *kāryesta* via Dravidian. Regressive palatalisation is a characteristic feature of the Marāṭhī verbal adjectives as written in the years 1784 to 1788.

The inflection of nouns offers a few pecularities, mainly vestiges of older Marāṭhī forms. In the formula type of language the old oblique of *tophā, tophiyā(m)* occurs. In the normal language there are a few more examples of that old spelling (no. 21, 1.32; no. 26,1. 5 & 9), probably preserved under the influence of the formula type of language. One isolated instance of *jhāḍiyā*, oblique of *jhāḍā*, is found (no. 20, 1.9); this old form occurs otherwise only in the formula type of language (no. 37-42, 49, 50, 53-58 and 60-62). Independently of the formula type of language there are a few other, much earlier, occurrences of the old oblique, *cakariyācā* (no. 6, 1.32), *harakāriyācā* (no. 6, 1.34) and *paikayāci* (no. 6, 1.61).

What looks like an old form but is most probably the result of a modern development is found in the inflexion of the verbal noun *jāṇaṇayā viṣaim* (no. 48, 1.10) and *kaḷavaṇayā viṣaim* (no 48, 1.13) as against the majority of obliques in *-ṇyā-*. Some other irregularities in the oblique of the verbal noun are also very late, *kaḷaṇe stava* (no. 35, 1.11), *kaḷavaṇe stava* (no. 36, 1.12), *jāṇecyā jaruri mulem* (no. 45, 1.10), *ghara ghālaṇecem* (no. 48, 1.7), *kaḷavaṇe viṣaim* (no. 48, 1.15), *kaḷavaṇecā samtoṣa* (no. 51, 1.13) and *śālā pāṭavaṇesa jāhalyā* (no. 52, 1.15) as opposed to regular *-ṇyā*. These irregular forms seem to be the result of the frequent change of final *-yā* into *-e*.

In the instrumental we have several instances of the old singular ending in *-em*, e.g. *parabhārem* (no. 4, 1.7), *bābem* (no. 4, 1.8; no. 11, 1.9; no. 12, 1.9) and *babem* (no. 6, 1.39), *samve* (no. 11, 1. 10-11) and *savem* (no. 51, 1.10), *maghārem* (no. 12, 1.7) and *māghārem* (no. 52, 1.7), *bayāmvārem* (no. 23, 1.40; no. 24, 1. 43). The frequently recurring old instrumentals which are also preserved in modern Marāṭhī, e.g. *kāraṇem, nāvem, prakārem, mukhāmtarem,*

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mulem̩, vidyamānem̩, vistārem̩ and *samāgamem̩*, are not listed separately here.

Two postpositions govern an instrumental in *-em̩*, namely *nisi* and *kaḍuna*. In normal Marāṭhī it is not *kaḍuna* but *karuna* which is added to the *-em̩* form, and in Tanjore Marāṭhī also a few examples are found; otherwise *karuna* functions verbally, e.g. with a preceding uninflected object *kabula karuna*. The words governed by *nisi* are *maryāde* and *mohare*. Those governed by *kaḍuna* are all Sanskrit (semi-) *tatsamas: adare, anakuḷe, uchraye, cittem̩, jogemārga, niścayem, nyāyemārgem̩, visvāsem̩, sam̩toṣem̩, surakṣitem̩, snehamārgem̩* and *śnehamārgem̩*. The postposition *kaḍuna* may, however, govern both the oblique and instrumental pronouns, *tyā* and *teṇe(m̩)*. The instrumental *teṇe(m̩)* is otherwise found before *karitā(m̩)* (no. 6, 1.68 & 70; no. 36, 1.10) which normally governs the oblique; *teṇe(m̩)* is normal before *pramāṇem̩*. In three instances the instrumental *yeṇe* occurs (no. 17, 1.16 & 22; no. 18, 1.19).

In plural there is only one word in the old instrumental *-im̩*, namely *sāhebi(m̩)* (no. 11, 1.8; no. 14, 1.20; no. 17, 1.35; no. 18, 1.20; no. 24, 1.10, 15, 63; no. 25, 1.11, 15, 16, 53; no. 43, 1.5).

In the dative we find besides the modern suffixes *-sa, -lā* and *-nā* also the Old Marāṭhī *-si* and *-tem̩*.

The suffix *-lā* is extremely rare (no. 23, 1.20 & 29; no. 24, 1.13, 14, 19 & 47; no. 25, 1.48); this is also the case in the 18th century Poona Marāṭhī texts of this type.

The *-si* suffix of the dative occurs only with two words, *sarakāra* and *sam̩sthāna*. The occurrences are

sarakārāsim̩ tanākhori keli ahe (no. 11, 1.15-16)
sarakārāsi phāra tanākhori keli ahe (no. 12, 1.12)
tumhim̩ im̩gareja sarakārāsim̩ śnehe kelyā mulem̩ (no. 35, 1.8)
tumhim̩ amace sarakārāsim̩ rākhita am̩lām̩ to śnehe vāhaḍavita yeṇa (no. 35, 1.13)
sarakārāsim̩ śnehe rākhita ale (no. 36, 1.9)
sarakārāsim̩ rākhilyā śnehyāci abhivr̥̊dhi karita yāvem̩ (no. 36, 1.13)
yā ubhayetām̩ni sarakārāsim̩ keli vartaṇuka tumhāsa ṭhauki ca asela (no. 46, 1.10)
yā sam̩sthānāsi virodha kelāsa hoila (no. 17, 1.40-41).

In four cases we find the old demonstrative pronoun in this old dative form
pharam̩gi yāsi miḷuna (the rest of the context is missing, no. 6, 1.27)
pharāsi yām̩si pu-[...]-ṇadvaiṣa karum̩na (no. 8, 1.10)
goraṇadora yām̩si kaula didhalā (no. 9, 1.2), *pādari yām̩si ... sāgitale ahe* (no. 26, 1.27).

The *yām̩si* which is used in the formal initial and final parts of letters is not listed here. It is remarkable that the old dative in *-si* is only used in connection

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with high governmental bodies and foreign names (European, French, governor, Father).

The *-teṃ* suffix occurs six times
bahuta anaṃdā te pāvale (no. 14, 1.15; no. 15, 1.10),
bahuta khuṣi te pāvalo (no. 16, 1.11),
bahuta saṃtoṣā teṃ pāvaloṃ (no. 19, 1.5; no. 20, 1.5),
phāra anaṃdā teṃ pāvaloṃ (no. 20, 1.10).

These examples do not conform with the rule for Poona Marāṭhī as stated by Bloch, namely that *-teṃ* disappears very early except in conjunction with the pronouns of the first and second persons singular (§ 199). On the other hand it must be admitted that the context is stereotype throughout.

There is only one example of an old ablative ending
mhaṇauna tākida keli divaṇāuna tumhāsa kāgada yeṇāra āheta (no. 6, 1.12).

The old locative ending in *-iṃ* is found in a few cases, *sthali* (no. 2, 1.14 & 18), *vakhtiṃ* (no. 8, 1.26). To what extent the remaining examples are artificial formations is difficult to decide; they are all very much later than the above-listed examples,
arthiṃ (no. 32, 1.28; no. 44, 1.21; no. 48, 1.8), *avasariṃ* (no. 44, 1.6), *kṣaṇi* (no. 23, 1.55; no. 24, 1.62; no. 25, 1.55), *cittiṃ* (no. 51, 1.18), *jiviṃ* (no. 44, 1.17), *divasiṃ* (no. 51, 1.10; no. 52, 1.9), *majakuriṃ* (no. 42, 1.9) and *hajuriṃ* (no. 21, 1.12, 14 & 34; no. 22, 1. 11 & 24; no. 32, 1.21, 22, 25 & 27). In a few cases the Arabic names of months occur with *-i* (e.g. *saphari, ṣābani*) but it is not certain that this represents the locative ending.

The personal and reflexive pronouns twice occur in Old Marāṭhī forms, *apulyā* (no. 44, 1.13 & 14), *aphulyā* or *apulyā* (no. 48, 1.15), *amuceṃ* (no. 48, 1.7) and *amuce* (no. 48, 1.12). The demonstratives *teṇe(ṃ), yeṇe(ṃ) and yāṃsi* have already been mentioned under the instrumental and dative of nouns. The older *te* may also occur for modern feminine *tī*. The old correlatives *taiseṃ, yaiseṃ, jaiseṃ, kaiseṃ* occur frequently from no. 6 to no. 48. The phrase *yaiseṃjeṃ* belongs to the initial formula of the king's letters. Most of the above-mentioned series occur in the neuter; there are a few feminine and one masculine forms *yaisājo ... jaisā* (no. 9, 1.2 & 3). The *tatsama* pronouns are subject to sandhi, *tadanusāra, yedarthiṃ, tanmuḷeṃ, yenmuḷeṃ*. In one case the development is peculiar, *tadvat* → *tadauta* (no. 8, 1.28-29).

Only three verbs recur so often that the forms they display and the changes they undergo merit a fuller description. They are *asaṇeṃ, deṇeṃ* and *hoṇeṃ*.

From *asaṇeṃ* by far the most frequently occurring form is the old present, 3rd person singular *ase,* functioning as an auxiliary to the past participle. It is throughout the material written *ase*. In one instance we have *āse* (no. 6, 1.13) which may be an older form but could just as well be due to scribal negligence. The old Marāṭhī present, 3rd person plural *asati* occurs twice (no. 4, 1.8; no.

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43, 1.9). During the short period from 1779 to 1787 we find a form which must also be an old present 3rd person plural, but with *-e-* by analogy from the singular instead of *-a-* plus the old plural ending *-ti*.
yāsa vastre pāṭavili aseti (no. 18, 1.29),
bāki ṭāravile asemṭi (no. 20, 1.14; no. 21, 1.25-26),
apaṇā kāraṇeṃ vastrāce dusta ... pāṭavile asemṭi (no. 21, 1.29),
kiteka sādhakeṃ hi sāṃpaḍali asemṭi (no. 24, 1.56),
kiteka sādhakeṃ hi sāṃpaḍaliṃ asemṭi (no. 25, 1.50),
ubhayetāṃ hi tarakaṃbāḍiṃta ca asemṭi (no. 25, 1.51).

The context rules out the possibility that *ase(ṃ)ti* could stand for the conditional 3rd person plural neuter *asatīṃ*.

We may add here the only other occurrences of the 3rd person plural ending in *-ti*,
mestara svāṭa pādari ... te ca apaṇā kaḍe yetāti va amace harakāre hi samāgame yetāti (no. 28, 1.9 & 10),
khāna majakura je bolatila te amace hukume pramāneṃ bolatātiseṃ samajuna (no. 31, 1.28-29); the form *ānabhavitāti* (no. 6, 1.39) is strange.

The verb *asaṇeṃ* often occurs in the future. In a few early instances an irregular spelling is found, viz. *asala* for *asela,*
te sakaḷa hiṃ tumhasa dekhala asala (no. 8, 1.21),
saṃsthānace hita jaise asala taiseṃ karāla (no. 8, 1.29),
te hakikata apaṇāsa hi jāhira ca asala (no. 14, 1.16),
te vartamāna [...] dakhale ca asala (no. 15, 1.11),
te apaṇāsa dakhale ca asala (no. 17, 1.15). That *-e-* should be weakened to *-a-* in that position is unusual in the material.

Twice an Old Marāṭhī future occurs, the first person plural *asoṃ* or *aso* instead of the modern *asuṃ*
āmhiṃ *tumhāṃ vari bahuta saṃtoṣeṃ kaḍuna asoṃ*(no. 4, 1.10),
vāidyā pramāṇe yaivaja yāvāvayā jogemārga karuna devito aso (no. 18, 1.19).
In the formula type of language Old Marāṭhī *aso(ṃ)* is found for the infinitive *asuṃ* especially in the phrase *pyāra mohabata aso dije* (see p. 62).

The past participle from *asaṇeṃ* is very rare; the instances are *parabhāreṃ asalyāne mhaṇāṃ* ... (no. 4, 1.7). In the formula type of language two instances of the Old Marāṭhī past participle are found
apali khuda khuśi hameśā kalame karita asile pāhije (no. 12, 1.5),
apali khuda khuśi khabara hameśa lihita asila pāhije (no. 13, 1.6); in the latter example the ending *-e* has been weakened to *-a*.

Apart from these very early occurrences the past participle is found only once more in the entire material
rayetāṃni kāye gunāha kele asali (no. 28, 1.7).

Even without statistical analysis of the Poona Marāṭhī practice in the 18th and 19th centuries it can be stated that it is unusual that the Tanjore Marāṭhī

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lacks the past participle of *asaṇeṃ*. Not only are there no more examples of the participle used to indicate a dubitative sense, as in the last quoted occurrence, but *asalyā* as an oblique stem is also missing. There is of course no extended form in *-lelā;* Tanjore Marāṭhī is peculiar in not forming any such extended past participle from any other verb either.

From the verb *deṇeṃ* many forms of the Old Marāṭhī past participle occur. They are in chronological order
tari te vilāti koṇāṃsa hi didhali nāhiṃ (no. 4, 1.5),
yā karitāṃ yeka sāla mātra aḍamāna didhaleṃ hoteṃ (no. 4, 1.6),
paike dilahi yā pestara majarā detila (no. 6, 1.67),
paike dilahyā muḷeṃ tumaci nasṭi kāṃhi nāhi (no. 6, 1.67),
kaula didhalā yaisājo ... jaisā didhalā āhe teṇeṃ pramāṇeṃ ǎmhiṃ saṃmata houna didhalā ase (no. 9, 1.2, 3 & 4),
rāmā nāikāci kāvali ... nāikāsa ... dilahi ase (no. 11, 1.12),
tumhāsa nakhti gutagyāsa dilhyā karitāṃ (no. 20, 1.11),
caudā gāva ... apaṇāsa ... dilhe aheta (no. 21, 1.22),
tyāsa javāba dilhe je (no. 23, 1.6),
tyāneṃ cāleṃ vartamāna caughe vartakāce rubaru hāstākṣara lihuna dilhā aheṃ (no. 23, 1.38), (the same context +) *dilahā aseṃ* (no. 24, 1.55),
kāryastha ... sarva hi vistāreṃ lihuṃna dilahā (no. 25, 1.49),
apaṇāsa aḍamāna dilahe ... dilhyā yaivajā paikiṃ (no. 32, 1.19 & 20), etc.

A pattern *dilahā, -i, -eṃ* as opposed to *dilhyā* emerges. The modern form *dila* is used only in the document from Poona
tumhasa muḷika thoḍakā āhe ādhikotara sādhuna dilā jāila (no. 29, 1.24) and occurs nowhere in the Tanjore letters.

From the verb *hoṇeṃ* only the past participle displays Old Marāṭhī forms. They are in chronological order
teṇeṃ pramāṇeṃ suālimokārā jāhale sthali vāravileṃ jāila (no. 2, 1.14),
tumhiṃ khata pāṭavileṃ teṃ pāvona lihili hakikata jāhira jāli (no. 4, 1.3),
te kabula jāhāle āheta (no. 6, 1.16),
bahuta cheda jāhālā āhe (no. 6, 1.20)
cyāri pāṃca mahine jāhāle rākhuna āhe āle prayojena hi ādyāpi jāhāleṃ nāhi (no. 6, 1.59 & 60),
mhaṇauna ajñā jāhāli ase (no. 11, 1.20),
te māluma jāhāle (no. 12, 1.9),
hujuruna hi ajñā jāhāli ahe (no. 12, 1.9),
hakikata māluma jāhale (no. 16, 1.4),
amhi apale dosta jāhalyā karitā apalyā khubi stava lihile ase (no. 17, 1.32).

From this point, namely 1779, onwards, the pattern *jāhalā, -ī, -eṃ* and *jāhalyā* emerges. It is only in no. 35, dated 1802, that we find the contracted modern spelling
dinamārka vālyāṃcā bǎuṭha taragaṃbādice kilyā vari namuda jhālā (no. 35,

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1.5), but in the same document we find further
teṃ vartamāna śruta jāhalyā varuṃna amhāsa phāra saṃtoṣa jāhalā (no. 35, 1.5, 6 & 10).

The *jāhalā* etc. and *jāhalyā* forms continue (nos. 36, 45, 46, 51, 52) with the exception of
tyāce soira loka talakabaḍice kilyāṃta rāhāṇāra jāhālyā stava (no. 43, 1.10) and
yāṃni vilāyetisa ravānā jhālyā muḷeṃ (no. 46, 1.6),
tyā adhikārāsa tumhāsa nemaṇuka jhāli (no. 46, 1.7).

Although these same letters contain another word with initial *jh-*, namely *jhāḍā*, the contracted spelling does not become more frequent. Phonetically this may be related to the above-mentioned Tanjore Marāṭhī preference for uncontracted forms, e.g. *kāhāḍuna* for Poona Marāṭhī *kāḍhūna*.

As mentioned already under *asaṇeṃ*, Tanjore Marāṭhī does not possess an extended past participle in *-lelā, -lelī, -leleṃ*. Instead the normal past participle covers the functions of the extended form also. To give a few examples of the adjective
tumhiṃ khata pāṭavileṃ teṃ pāvona lihili hakikata jāhira jāli (no. 4, 1.3),
tumhi khata pāṭavila te pāuna lihilā makasuda kaluṃ alā (no. 12, 1.6),
tumhi paṭavili najara gujarānili (no. 16, 1.7),
ale harakāre māhāladārāṃ samāgameṃ (no. 23, 1.41),
amhāsa jāhalā saṃtoṣa yekaṃdara tumhāsa kaḷaṇe stava lihileṃ (no. 35, 1.11),
ubhayetāṃni sarakārāsiṃ keli vartaṇuka tumhāsa ṭhanki ca asela (no. 46, 1.10).

The lack of the form in *-lelā* etc. was pointed out as an anomaly when I discussed document no. 4 with prof. S.G. Tulpule a few years ago; the letter does contain a number of difficult sentences. It has, however, not been possible to establish from grammars when the form in *-lelā* was introduced into Poona Marāṭhī; it is not presented as a novelty in Carey or Navalkar's grammars.

An investigation into the documents presented in M.G. Dikshit and V.G. Khobrekar's publication revealed, however, that the extended form was not used there at all. With the exception of the last document they are all from the 17th and 18th century. Phonetic reasons may also have been against the adoption of the *-lelā* etc. form into Tanjore Marāṭhī. Those verbs which already have a stem ending in *-la* or *-ḷa*, e.g. *cālaṇeṃ* and *kaḷaṇeṃ* do in the normal past participle have a form ending in *-lilā* and *-ḷalā* etc. We find examples of these quite regular unextended forms becoming truncated
tyāneṃ cāleṃ vartamāna caughe vartakāce rubaru hāstākṣara lihuna dilhā aheṃ (no. 23, 1.38),
te sarva hi tumhāsa kāḷeṃ ca asela (no. 24, 1.18),
tyāce kāryasthāneṃ cāleṃ purvotara sarva hi lihuna dilahā aseṃ (no. 24, 1.55).

These examples are few but are contained in that particular set of documents where the letterwriter's temper is carrying him away; the same phonetic ten-

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dency which reduced *cālileṃ* and *kāḷaleṃ* to *cāleṃ* and *kāḷeṃ* respectively may have been instrumental in refusing to accept the *-lelā, -lelī and -leleṃ* forms into the language.[22]

A phonetic feature found in the past participle ending in *-eṃ* is the weakening of the vowel into *-a;* the instrumental ending in *-eṃ* may also be written *-a.* Examples are found throughout the material. The correct spelling is no doubt preponderant until the 19th century. The usage in the reminders, which all belong to the 19th century, has been described in the chapter on the formula type of language. We list here some of the early occurrences only (no. 4, 1.3; no. 6, 1.65; no. 7, 1.3; no. 10, 1.10 (twice); no. 11, 1.9; no. 12, 1.6; no. 13, 1.6; no. 17, 1.34; no. 19, 1.7, etc.) The same is true for the weakening of *-yā* into *-e.* Whereas the use of *-a* for *-eṃ* is not admitted into Poona Marāṭhī so early the use of *-e* for *-yā* is more acceptable although *-yā* is 'preferable' according to Navalkar (§ 515).

The last group of irregular verbal forms, viz. archaic passives in *-je,* is not so numerous but the occurrences stretch over almost the entire material. Those which occur in the formula part of the language are
kije (no. 29, 1.25; no. 62, 1.14), *jāṇije* (no. 6, 1.73; no. 29, 1.26), *dije* no. 2, 1.16 & 19; no. 6, 1.74; no. 14, 1.25; no. 17, 1.46; no. 21, 1.36; no. 22, 1.26) and *bhaṇije* (no. 15, 1.27)

The examples occurring in the normal language are
tyā harakāre māhāladārāce tābina karuna paṭavijeseṃ karaṇe (no. 11, 1.21).
tyāne sarakārāsi phāra tanākhori keli ahe yā stave lihijeleṃ (no. 12, 1.12),
amacyā manāsa saṃtoṣa hoyejese karaṇe (no. 16, 1.16-17),
sāhebāṃce manāsa phāra saṃtoṣa vāṭalā te kāhi lihijeseṃ nāhi (no. 21, 1.16),
tyāṃce manāsa saṃtoṣa hoijese vājebi prakāreṃ cālavāla (no. 28, 1.11),
teṃ śubhaciṃtakapaṇa hiṃ tyāṃsa kaḷajeseṃ lihuṃ pāṭavaṇeṃ (no. 51, 1.18),
se. milara yāṃce theṃ praviṣṭa kije (no. 62, 1.14). This last instance belongs partly to the formula type of language.

It is thus characteristic that all the formula type of passives are of the same type, viz. the polite imperative in the impersonal 3rd person singular. The normal language has also the past and the past habitual.

Modern Poona Marāṭhī has preserved only two passives in *-je, pāhije* and *mhaṇije.* The former is widespread in Tanjore Marāṭhī and is used in the same way. The latter is not found at all, either as a passive or in its modern use as a conjunction.

Another form of the verb *mhaṇaṇeṃ* is widely used as a conjunction, both in Poona and Tanjore, namely *mhaṇuna,* in the older spelling also *mhaṇauna,* in

22. Prof. S.G. Tulpule adduces the example of modern Poona Marāṭhī pronunciation of *kaḷaleca* as *kaḷḷeca.*

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the late Tanjore Marāṭhī also *manuna*. The occurences of the word as a conjunction are frequent throughout the material, from no. 2 to no. 52.

A summing up pronoun *(a)se(ṃ)* is also used from no. 11 to no. 51 to link the 'governed' and the 'governing' sentences together. More elaborate phrases like *he vartamāna* or *mhaṇāvayāce vartamāna* are also frequent especially in the later period, but they occur already in no. 14, dated 1776. Of simple conjunctions besides *mhaṇuna* the older Poona Marāṭhī has *jeṃ* and the more recent *kiṃ*. The form *jeṃ* occurs twice
kāgada pāṭavilā āhe jeṃ (no. 6, 1.37) and *tyāsa javāba dilhe je* (no. 23, 1.6). It is of course part of the king's initial letter formula *yaiseṃjeṃ* but apart from these occurrences and the above-mentioned examples the conjunction is not found.

The word *kiṃ* may have other meanings than 'that' and we therefore list all the occurrences below
yā karitā taragabaḍi tumaci madhesti ki tyā kaḍuna (no. 6, 1.17),
tyāṃci madhesti koṇāsa āhe ki tyāṃceṃ gumāne yeuṃ deto (no. 6, 1.42),
tyāne lihuna pāṭavileṃ āhe ki nāhi kaḷanā (no. 6, 1.64),
te sakaḷa hiṃ tumhasa dekhala asala kiṃ (no. 8, 1.21),
kiteka sāmāna ... pāṭavila kiṃ teṇa pramāṇe yeuna pāvale (no. 10, 1.10),
tumhi koṇa ki kāye ki mhaṇauna (no. 11, 1.18),
te hakikata apaṇāsa hi jāhira ca asala ki (no. 14, 1.16),
caudā gāva apaṇāsa ... dilhe aheta ki (no. 21, 1.23),
yāṃni tumhāsa kaḷavile ca asatila ki (no. 23, 1.14),
seṭi va dubhāṣi dāniśa piḷe ale asati ki tari (no. 26, 1.20 & 26),
mhaṇauna apaṇāsi sāṃgitale hote ki yā karitāṃ (no. 27, 1.9),
aḍica hajāra cakare sarakārāsa yeṇeṃ aheṃ kiṃ tyā karitāṃ (no. 32, 1.13),
jaiseṃ viśvāseṃ kaḍuna vartaṇuka karita aleṃ ki tasi ca (no. 45, 1.14).

As can be seen from the examples *kiṃ* indicates either emphatic interrogation or disjunction but not indication in the sense of 'that'. Thus even though the Tanjore Marāṭhī language does possess the particle *kiṃ* it is not used to 'subordinate' sentences. It was already in use in this sense in Poona Marāṭhī by the time of the Marāṭhī conquest of Tanjore, e.g. in letter no. 2 in M.G. Dikshit and V.G. Khobrekar's collection of letters.

As was pointed out early on in the comparative studies of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan it is a distinct Dravidian feature to lack real subordination and instead to link one sentence to the other with the help of an absolutive 'having said' → 'that'. It was widely adopted in Poona Marāṭhī but remained only one of a number of 'conjunctions', the other simple one being *kiṃ*. It is therefore very significant that Tanjore Marāṭhī rejects *jeṃ* and *kiṃ* in this function and uses its 'own' *mhaṇuna* exclusively.

It may be noted in passing that yet another form of *mhaṇaṇeṃ*, namely *mhaṇaṇāra* is used in a special sense in Tanjore, 'called, by name' (no. 23, 1.22

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& 25; no. 24, 1.27, 36-37 & 44; No. 25, 1.21, 23 & 34-35; no. 28, 1.14). In Poona Marāṭhī it is *mhaṇuna* which is used thus.

The word *mhaṇuna* may also mean 'because' and for this sense Poona Marāṭhī may also use *kāraṇeṃ* or *kāraṇa,* which is not possible in Tanjore Marāṭhī. The word still functions as a postposition to *tyā-, yā-* or another oblique stemform. In a few cases Tanjore Marāṭhī uses another postposition as an independent conjunction, namely *karitāṃ*

sadarahu lagnāsa sarakārātuna ināma deuna lagna karavitāheta karitāṃ tumhi sarabarā-[...] karāvi (no. 43, 1.19),

amuce sarakārace niścaya karita nāhita karitāṃ teṃ nalage maṇuna (no. 48, 1.13),

yāṃce vivāhamuhurta vartamāna ... 22sa niścaya pāvale āhe karitāṃ tumhi (no. 59, 1.6).

This independent use of the postposition *karitāṃ* is not correct in Poona Marāṭhī.

The Tanjore Marāṭhī language used in these documents can be characterised thus: In the first half of the period, from 1725 to the turn of the century, the formula type of language is clearly developing in one direction. The phrases become shorter and fewer, the number of Arabic and Persian words decreases and many of the Old Marāṭhī forms disappear. From the beginning of the 19th century, some other Persian and Arabic words are introduced and used for some years; in the second half of the period, from 1800 to 1844 the main features are the lack of variation and the insertion of words and phrases which do not add anything to the content but only increase the length of the sentences; at the same time there is a tendency to disregard rules of inflection; a few isolated Old Marāṭhī forms still occur.

In the normal type of language we may distinguish a very early period until 1770 when the old Persian and Arabic vocabulary disappears and Marāṭhī words are used instead; the number of Old Marāṭhī forms decreases. Many of the Dravidian words occur in this early period. In the following years until the turn of the century the influx of Sanskrit (semi-) *tatsamas* dominates at the expense of Marāṭhī vocabulary. There is a tendency to retain earlier forms, e.g. Marāṭhī verbal forms occur in the slightly archaic form which they attained during the first period; isolated archaisms also occur. In the beginning of the 19th century the change of vocabulary from predominantly Marāṭhī and Sanskrit to predominantly Marāṭhī, Persian and Arabic is followed by an even stronger impact of Sanskrit in the last period. Some English words are admitted into the language and a few Dravidian. Isolated revivals of seemingly Old Marāṭhī forms are also found.

The parallels with the historical development in the region can easily be drawn. During the first period of Tanjore's (relative) independence of the

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British the Marāṭhī language develops naturally, giving up foreign vocabulary such as Persian and Arabic, admitting some local Dravidian words while the majority of words are Marāṭhī. The following period from 1770 to the turn of the century is one of relative stagnation compared with the earlier one, both as regards inflection, conjugation and sentence structure while the vocabulary becomes highly sanskritized, although perhaps less than in Poona Marāṭhī. In this period the Marāṭha kingdom is gradually becoming a British protectorate. At the turn of the century the annexation of Tanjore by the British takes place. Soon after the language becomes artificial in its sudden changes in vocabulary and it loses consistency in adherence to grammatical rules. In one respect, the pattern of sentence subordination, there is consistency throughout the entire period from 1740's to 1840's. That is also the only major feature of Tanjore Marāṭhī which is obviously Dravidian. To what extent the other features which characterise Tanjore Marāṭhī, phonetic, morphological as well as structural, can be ascribed to (active) Dravidian influence rather than to (passive) conservatism in a language which becomes more and more isolated requires detailed examination; such an analysis must be left to Dravidologists. Here we may conclude that the Tanjore Marāṭhī language, so closely linked with the Marāṭha court of Tanjore, reflects in all its phases the power and political importance of this Marāṭha rule.

Appendix

A numerical investigation into the proportions of Marāṭhī, Sanskrit (*tatsama* and *semi-tatsama*), Persian, Arabic and Dravidian words in the various phases of Tanjore Marāṭhī correspondence is made from non-formula types of letters, when possible those sent not from the king but from his minister. The documents investigated are: A very early one (no. 2, dated 1741), followed by the last written before the ten year gap in our material (no. 13, dated 1766), then the first written after the gap (no. 14, dated 1776), the letter from Poona (no. 29, dated 1788) and a contemporary document from Tanjore (no. 30, dated also 1788); we end with one from the turn of the century (no. 36, dated 1802) followed by the last three letters of a non-formula type (no. 48, dated 1823; no. 52, dated 1832 and no. 59, dated 1837). We leave out of consideration and count the formula type of language occurring initially and finally in these letters.

It should be made clear that the figures presented below are very tentative; a thorough investigation of the numerical proportions of words would require a

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detailed analysis of each document; precise criteria for distinguishing between Marāṭhī *tadbhavas* and various degrees of assimilation of Sanskrit vocabulary in the form of *semi-tatsamas* would be necessary, and also clear definitions of what should class as one word unit, e.g. whether adverbs, pronouns and particles should count as one word unit or not. One would also have to pay attention to each type of document investigated, to find out what influence the contents of each might have had on the choice of vocabulary. Such a very detailed investigation will be of more interest once a similar analysis of a corresponding Poona Marāṭhī corpus has been carried out. In the numerical analysis which follows a rough division between Marāṭhī on the one hand, and *tatsamas* and various degrees of *semi-tatsamas* on the other was felt to be sufficient. Every word unit has been counted as a separate word at each occurrence as have pronouns and adverbs and each single part of compound verbal forms; the only elements which have not been reckoned with are emphatic particles such as *-ca* and *-hi*, and the titles of persons.

In nos. 2 and 13 there are a few Tamil, Persian and *semi-tatsama* words; the great majority of words are Marāṭhī; there are no English words.

With no. 14 the influx of *semi-tatsamas* start. The proportion is four Marāṭhī words to three *semi-tatsamas*. There are approximately five Marāṭhī words to one Persian and Arabic. Moreover there is one word borrowed from English.

Document no. 29, from Poona and document no. 30, from Tanjore show between them proportionnally the same distribution, namely that the majority of words are Marāṭhī, the less numerous category being the *(semi-)tatsamas*, and the smallest Persian and Arabic; in the Poona letter there is moreover one French word, and in the Tanjore letter one thought to be borrowed from Dravidian (*hon*). The difference between no. 29 and no. 30 is that in Poona there are approximately four Marāṭhī words to two *(semi-)tatsamas* whereas in Tanjore there are five Marāṭhī words to two *(semi-)tatsamas*.

The letter from 1802, (no. 36), confirms the tendency found earlier, that the proportion of Persian and Arabic vocabulary has increased as compared with Marāṭhī; there are approximately two Marāṭhī words to each Persian and Arabic. Here the *(semi-)tatsamas* are in third place. There are approximately three Marāṭhī words to each *(semi-)tatsama*. There is, moreover, one English word.

In document no. 48, from 1823, the position of *(semi-)tatsamas* and Persian and Arabic has slightly changed. There are still three Marāṭhī words to each *(semi-)tatsama*, but six Marāṭhī words to each Persian or Arabic word. There is, moreover, one English word. The last documents show a markedly different distribution. In no. 52, dated 1832, the proportion of Marāṭhī and *(semi-)tatsamas* is three to two, of Marāṭhī and English four to one, and of Marāṭhī and Persian or Arabic five to one; there is, moreover, one Dravidian word.

Finally, in no. 59, dated 1837, there is one Marāṭhī word to one *(semi-)*

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tatsama, three such words to each English word and only one Persian word. It should, however, be borne in mind that this is a letter from the king, issued on a very formal and religious occasion which must account for the very high proportion of Sanskrit words as compared with all other groups of vocabulary.

Four phases can thus be distinguished: An early one until the 1760's when Marāṭhī vocabulary was by far the most frequent as compared with all other categories; the next period has as its most striking feature the wealth of *(semi-) tatsamas* which occur at the expense of Marāṭhī vocabulary.

In the beginning of the 19th century, Persian and Arabic occur as the high style administrative vocabulary next in importance to Sanskrit. The final period is characterised by the adoption of English words, the fall in the amount of Persian and Arabic vocabulary, and an almost equal proportion of Marāṭhī and Sanskrit as the dominant sources of vocabulary.

The correspondence between the Tanjore court and the government of Tranquebar was carried out in sets of three documents, one from the king to the governor, one from the king's minister to the governor and finally one from the minister to his opposite number in Tranquebar. Of 'complete' sets we have one in the 1780's (nos. 23, 24, 25) and two at the beginning of the 19th century, (nos. 37, 38, 39 and nos. 40, 41, 42). Apart from the formal differences in titles used, there are only negligeable differences in vocabulary. As no. 42 illustrates, there are trivialities which are not included in the two more important letters but are mentioned only in the least important one.

There is one other type of set consisting of no. 14 and 15; both are from the Tanjore minister, the former addressed to the governor, the latter not to his opposite number in Tranquebar but to an Indian employed at Tranquebar. As this addressee is a Hindu the initial polite phrase is in Sanskrit. It is the only Tanjore letter to use the Sanskrit formula. Even here the differences in vocabulary are otherwise insignificant.

Surprisingly enough the letter from Poona uses the Sanskrit terms of polite address to the Danish governor. The Persian and Arabic ones might have been expected since they were used by the Poona administration in letters addressed to the English. It must be meant as a special token of friendship on the part of the Peshwa that he honours the Danish governor with the Hindu type of address. This, the only Poona letter of our collection, shows the following differences between Poona and Tanjore Marāṭhī: The dating is according to the Hindu lunar month which is never used in our Tanjore letters. The absolutive ends in *-ona* which is very exceptional in Tanjore. The name Tanjore itself is spelt *caṃdāvara(-ce)* here but *taṃjāura* in Tanjore. The name Pondicherry is written *pulacera* in the Poona letter but *puduceri* in no. 8 and *pudaceri* in nos. 23, 24 & 25. In the Poona letter *kāraṇa* is used as a conjunction without a preceding oblique stem; in Tanjore *kāraṇeṃ* is a postposition only, while *karitāṃ* can be found in a few cases as an independent conjunction. The Poona

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tatsamas niraṃtara and *prati* are not used in Tanjore Marāṭhī. The past participle *dila* is not found in Tanjore where only forms which preserve *-ha* are met with. There are also several nouns which occur only in this letter from Poona but as its subject matter differs in part from that of the Tanjore letters, no conclusions can be drawn from their absence in the rest of the Tanjore material.

One more letter stands out as different from the rest, namely no. 43; as mentioned earlier, it is of a more private nature than the other letters from Tanjore. The differences between this and the rest of the letters from Tanjore are: The initial phrase contains the Old Marāṭhī absolutive in *-auna* which is otherwise not used in that period. The name Tranquebar is written *talakabaḍi* where the rest of the material and also the Poona letter have *-r-* for *-l-*. No. 43 contains an archaic verbal form, the 3rd person plural of the present of *asaṇeṃ*, *asati*. An absolutive in *-ona* occurs in no. 43 instead of the normal Tanjore Marāṭhī *-una*. The postposition *kaḍuna* is, as in Poona Marāṭhī, added to the oblique stem and not to the instrumental in *-eṃ* as often in Tanjore. The postposition *karitāṃ* is in no. 43 used as an independent causal conjunction; this is found only twice in the rest of the Tanjore letters. As in the case of the Poona letter, we have here a number of nouns of Dravidiaṉ, Persian and Arabic origin which are not found anywhere else.

These few observations indicate how much would be yielded by a general comparison between our material and a representative corpus of the same type and period from Poona, thereby clearly revealing the pecularities of Tanjore Marāṭhī. Moreover the differences noted between the bulk of the Tanjore material and the semi-private letter stress the limited range of our material, and reveal how little it contains of the more ordinary Tanjore Marāṭhī speaker's language.

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List of documents

NO.	DATE	FROM	TO
1	00.00.1725	King Śaraphaji('s treasury)	Governor Christian Ulrich v. Nissen
2	14/24.05.1741	Aṃṇāji Rāu Seṭage	Governor Paul Krisk Panck
3	11.09.1744	King Pratāpasiṃha('s treasury)	Governor Ivar Bonsach
4	00.07/08.1753	King Pratāpasiṃha	Governor Hans Ernst Bonsach
5	17.12.1754	King Pratāpasiṃha('s treasury)	Governor (Hans) Georg Krog
6	(R)20.09.1759	Havildar Baḷāji	Governor Kristian Frederik Høyer
7	06.03.1762	King Pratāpasiṃha	Governor Herman Abbestée
8	06.03.1762	Aruṇojiṃ Bhoṃsale	Governor Herman Abbestée
9	12.03.1764	King Tuḷajā	Governor Herman Abbestée
10	(R)18.03.1764	Aruṇoji Bhosale	Governor Herman Abbestée
11	(R)07.07.1764	Haṇamaṃta Rāva Bhosale	Governor Herman Abbestée
12	(R)08.07.1764	Haṇamaṃta Rāva Bhoṃsale	Governor Herman Abbestée
13	1764-1766	Haṇamaṃta Rāva Bhoṃsale	Governor Herman Abbestée
14	(R)11.04.1776	Siṃvharāja Narahari Paṃḍita	Governor David Brown
15	(R)11.04.1776	Siṃvharāja Narahari Paṃḍita	[...] Piḷe
16	(R)12.05.1778	King Tuḷajā	Governor David Brown
17	(R)12.10.1779	Siṃvharāja Narahari Paṃḍita	Governor Herman Abbestée
18	31.12.1779	Siṃvharāja Narahari Paṃḍita	Governor Herman Abbestée
19	24.12.1784	King Tuḷajā	Governor Herman Abbestée
20	18.05.1786	King Tuḷajā	Governor Herman Abbestée
21	18.05.1786	Raghunātha Paṃḍita	Governor Herman Abbestée
22	30.10.1786	Raghunātha Paṃḍita	Governor Herman Abbestée
23	05.10.1787	King Amarasiṃha	Governor Herman Abbestée
24	05.10.1787	Śaṃkarāji Saṃbhāji	Governor Herman Abbestée
25	00.10.1787	Śaṃkarāji Saṃbhāji	Mr. Walter
26	10.12.1787	King Amarasiṃha	Governor Herman Abbestée
27	00.12.1787	Sivarāya	Mr. Schwartz
28	24.12.1787	King Amarasiṃha	Governor Herman Abbestée
29	06.05.1788	Mādhava Rāva Nārāyeṇa (of Poona)	The governor of Tranquebar
30	07.09.1788	King Amarasiṃha	Governor Peter Anker

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31	22.09.1788	King Amarasiṃha	Governor Peter Anker
32	03.09.1791	Sivarāva Saṃbhāji Paṃḍita	Governor Peter Anker
33	12.07.1797	King Amarasiṃha('s treasury)	Governor Peter Anker
34	22.10.1799	King Śeraphoji('s treasury)	Governor Peter Anker
35	26.08.1802	King Śeraphoji	General Peter Anker
36	26.08.1802	Sonaji Apā	General Peter Anker
37	14.08.1804	King Śeraphoji	General Peter Anker
38	14.08.1804	Dattāji Apā	General Peter Anker
39	14.08.1804	Dattāji Āpā	Mr. Øvre
40	13.10.1805	King Śeraphoji	General Peter Anker
41	13.10.1805	Dattāji Apā	General Peter Anker
42	13.10.1805	Dattāji Apā	Mr. Øvre
43	1803 - 1806	Vakil Gopāḷa Rāva	Major Øvre
44	02.04.1806	King Śeraphoji	Governor Peter Hermanson
45	02.04.1806	Vizier Goviṃda Rāva Nivāji Mohite	Governor Peter Hermanson
46	02.04.1806	Vizier Goviṃda Rāva Nivāji Mohite	Mr. Halkier
47	03.11.1807	King Séraphoji('s treasury)	Governor Peter Hermanson
48	16.03.1823	King Séraphoji	Governor Jens Koefoed
49	19.09.1824	King Śeraphoji	Governor U. Schønheyder
50	19.09.1824	Vizier Rāmoji Sarjye Rāva Ghāṃṭake	Governor U. Schønheyder
51	22.06.1832	King Śivāji	Governor Konrad Emil Mourier
52	22.06.1832	Sarakhela Băbaji Rāmāji Paṃḍita	Governor Konrad Emil Mourier
53	19.09.1832	Sarakhela Băbăji Rāmāji Paṃḍita	Governor Konrad Emil Mourier
54	19.09.1832	Sarakhela Băbăji Rāmāji Paṃḍita	(Mr.) Johannes Rehling
55	08.10.1833	Sarakhela Băbăji Rāmāji Paṃḍita	Governor Konrad Emil Mourier
56	28.09.1834	King Śivāji	Governor Konrad Emil Mourier
57	28.09.1834	Sarakhela Băbăji Rāmāji Paṃḍita	Governor Konrad Emil Mourier
58	16.09.1835	Sarakhela Băbăji Rāmāji Paḍita	Governor Konrad Emil Mourier
59	12.02.1837	King Śivāji	Governor Konrad Emil Mourier
60	25.09.1837	King Śivāji	Governor Konrad Emil Mourier
61	25.09.1837	Sarakhela Băbăji Rāmāji Paṃḍita	(Mr.) Jørgensen
62	08.10.1844	Sarakhela Āṇāji Tyāgarāja Paṃḍita	(Mr.) C. Møller

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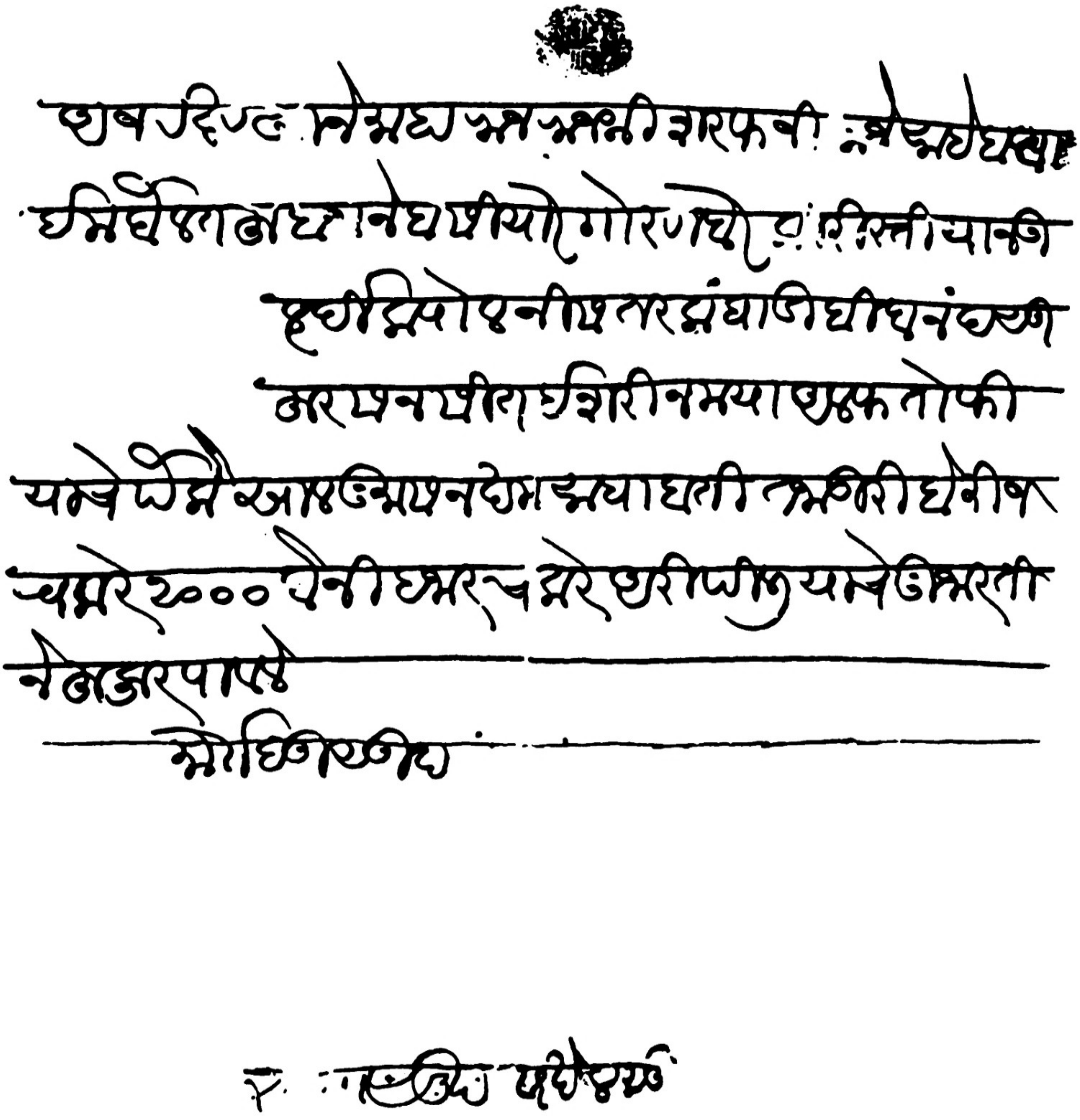

Document no. 1.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
00.00.1725.

aja rakhtakhāne māhārāja rājaśri śaraphaji rāje sāheba dā-
ima daulatahu bajāneba siyora goraṇadora kiristiyāna u-
ḷardika pola[1] nisa tarakaṃbāḍi bidānaṃda su-
hura sana sita iśarina mayā alapha tophi-
yāce paike sālagu. sana khamasā bābati tajāuri berija
cakare 2000 doni hajāra cakare ari pili yāçe gujārati-
ne hujura pāvale
mortabu suda
[...] suda sarakhela su- [...]

1. A reading *pova* is also possible.

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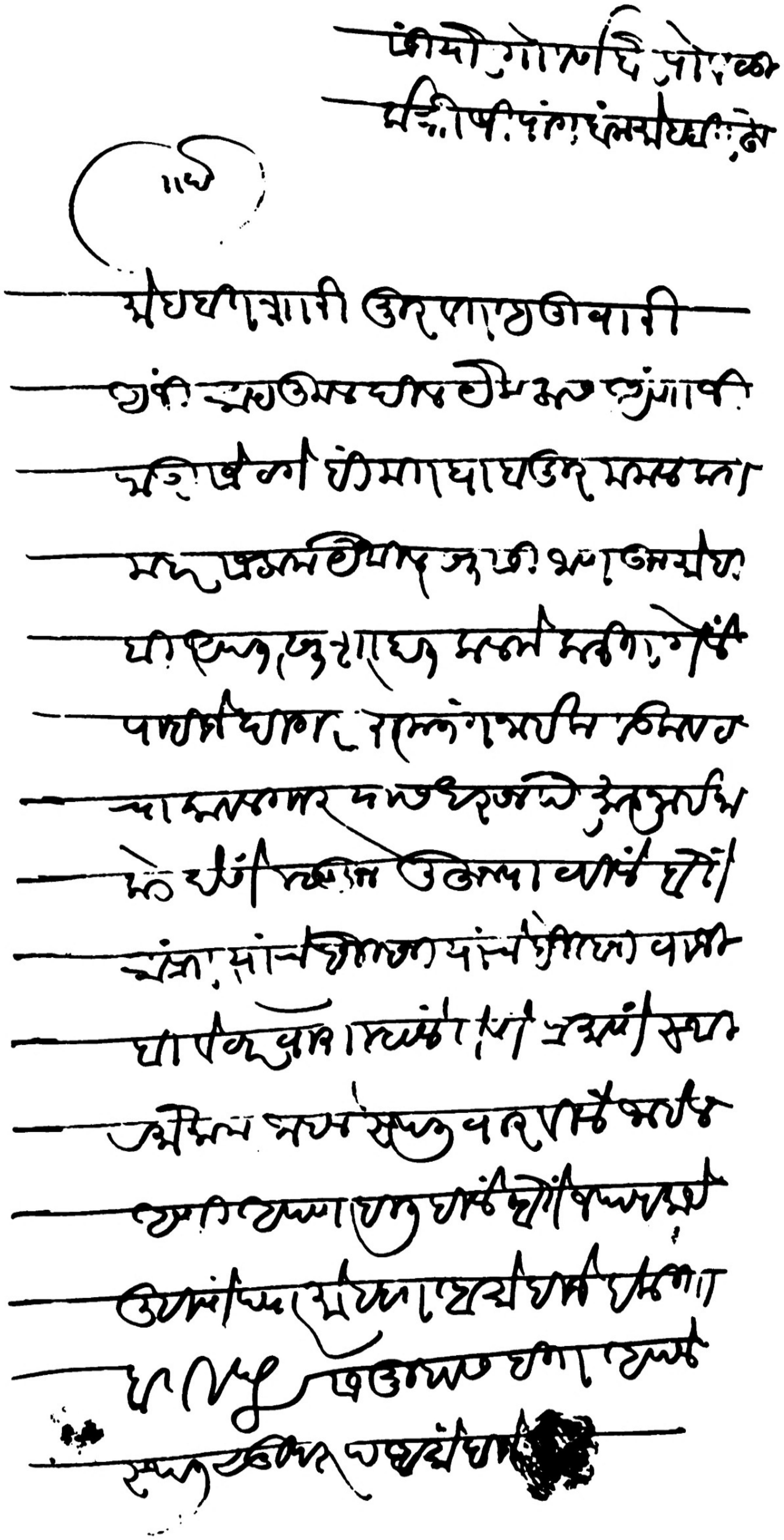

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Document no. 2.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 14/24.05.1741.

1 siṃyora govarṇadora povaḷirka
2 kriṣi pāṃga dāṃma mohabatahu
3 i
4 mohabata śāri muravata anuvāri
5 ajiṃ sāda kula dila yekalāsa aṃṇāji
6 rāu seṭage diṃmata bāhādura mamalakata-
7 madāra salāma yethila khusi jāṇauna mohi-
8 bi apali khuśāhāli kalame karita geleṃ
9 pāhije digara rāmaliṃga nāika vaḍaka vaṭa-
10 cā kāvalagāra yāsa dharuna peramāḷa nāika
11 kaḍe deṇeṃ mhaṇuna lihuna pāṭavileṃ hoteṃ
12 sāṃprata tyāṃce hejibani yāṃce hejibani vāji-
13 bi vevhāra vārā mhaṭaleṃ teṇeṃ pramāṇeṃ suāl-[1]
14 imokārā jāhale sthali vāravileṃ jāila
15 aṇi apaṇa hi lihileṃ hoteṃ jayādā kāye
16 lihiṇeṃ pyāra mohabata aso dije he kitā-
17 bati ghara samuhā sahita apale
18 sthali sukharupa asoṃ dije

1. The *li* akṣara has been split in a very unusual way; it could be due to the etymology of the term.

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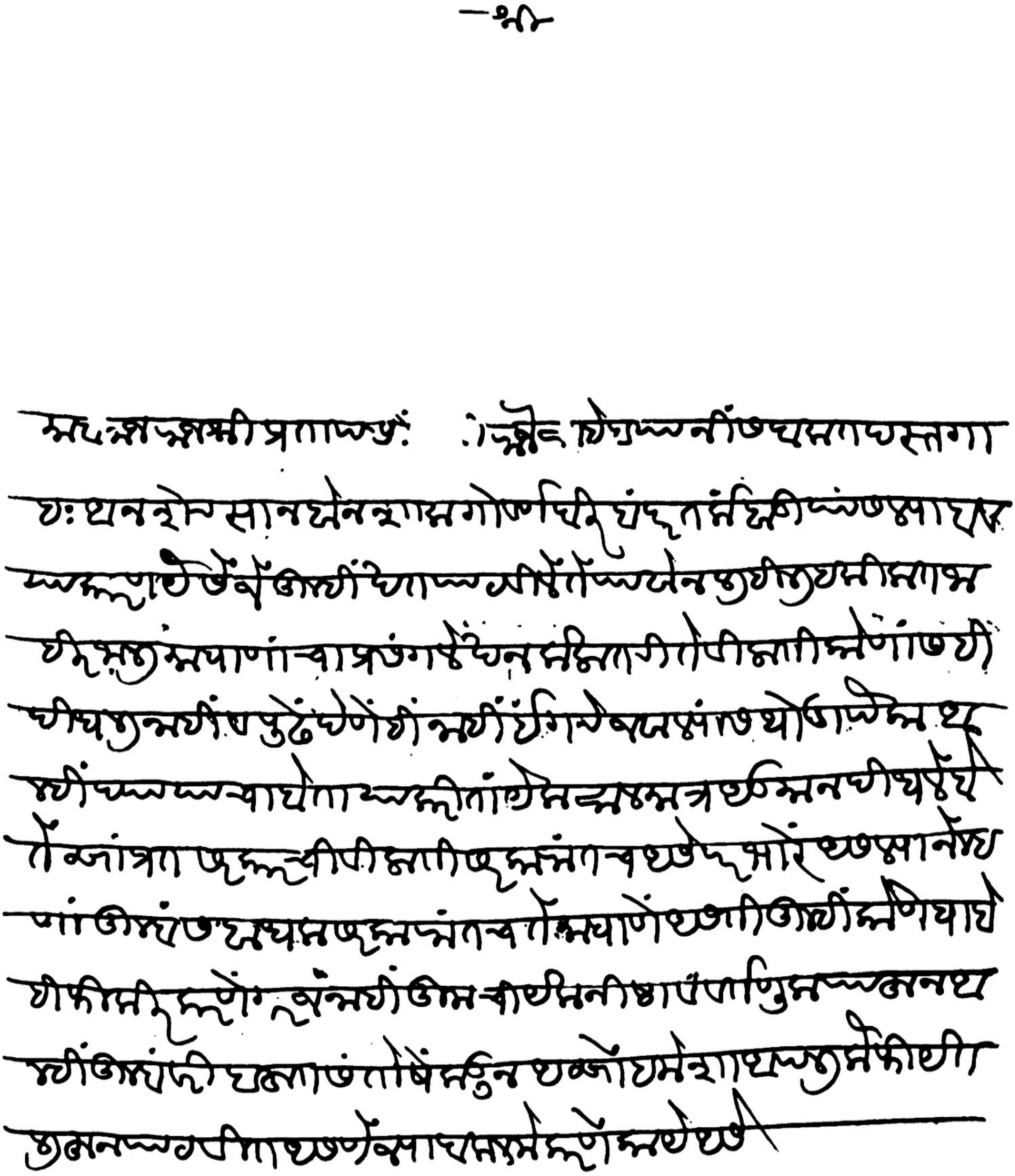
Document no. 3.

RA AsK 2188 (a)
11.09.1744.

aja rakhtakhāne māhārāja rājaśri pratāpasiṃgaji rāje sāheba
dāima daulatahu bajāneba siyora goraṇadora ivara bhonasāka tara-
kaṃbāḍi bidānaṃda suhura saṃna khaṃmasa arbaina mayā
alapha tophiyāṃ bābati va nakhti gutagiyā
vāra suda
bābati berija tajāuri cakare
sālagudastāṃ tophiyāṃ pa. aṃbala tikaṭura vaḍaka vaṭa pai-
bābati doni hajāra cakare ki gāva tini nakhti gutagā tuṃ-
2000,- mhi kelyā bābati sālamajakura-
cā aivaja yeka hajāra paṃnāsa cakare
1050,-
yekuna tini hajāra paṃnāsa cakare ra.[1] hajarata mamalakatamadāra diṃma-
ta bāhadura rājaśri aṃṇāji rāva seṭage yāce gujāratineṃ pāvale
pa.hu.ra.ma. hajarata rājeśri narasiṃga rāva anada rāva peśave [...]-
rtabu suda saṃmata hu- saṃmata khā- ru- [...] su-
juranavisa sakhela runavisa
terikha 14 māhe śābāna
śābāna khāsakhela hujuranavi- ru suru suda
ra. bāra suda sa suda
paḷaṃganavi-
sa suda

1. *ra.* for *rāsa* written in full in nos. 33, 34, 47. A reading *na.* is not impossible, in which case it could stand for *nagadī/nakhti*, 'cash'.



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Document no. 4.

RA AsK 2183 (a)
00.07/08.1753.

śrī

1 māhārāja rājaśri pratāpasiṃ- [...] rāje sāheba yāniṃ sadākata dastagā-
2 haḥ ānaśerasāna bonaśāka govarṇadora baṃdara tarkaṃbāḍi yāṃsa lyāhāva-
3 yā kāraṇa yaiseṃjeṃ tumhiṃ khata pāṭavileṃ teṃ pāvona lihili hakikata jā-
4 hira jāli māghāṇāṃcā prasaṃga lekhana kelā tari te vilāti koṇāṃsa hi
5 didhali nāhiṃ va puḍheṃ deṇeṃ hiṃ nāhiṃ iṃgareja vālyāṃsa thoḍi paikā ā-
6 mhiṃ dayāyācā hotā yā karitāṃ yeka sāla mātra aḍamāna didhaleṃ ho-
7 teṃ sāṃprata sarakāraci vilāti sarakārāṃta ca ase parabhāreṃ asalyāne mha-
8 ṇāṃ tumhāṃsa bādhaka sarakārāṃta ca te māghāṇeṃ asati tumhiṃ koṇe
bābeṃ
9 hi phikira karaṇeṃ garaja nāhiṃ tumaci yekaniṣṭhā va vartaṇuka pāhuna ā-
10 mhiṃ tumhāṃ vari bahuta saṃtoṣeṃ kaḍuna asoṃ hameśā āpali kaiphiyeta
11 lihuna pāṭavita asaṇeṃ jyādā kalame karaṇeṃ kāye ase

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Document no. 5.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
17.12.1754.

1 aja rakhtakhāne māhārāja rājaśri pratāpasiṃgaji rāje sāheba
2 dāima daulatahu bajāneba siṃyora goraṇadora gha kurogha taragaṃ-
3 bāḍi bidānaṃda suhura saṃna khaṃmasa khaṃmasaina mayāṃ
4 alapha tophiyā babati va nakhti gutagiyā baba-
5 ti berija taṃjāuri cakare
6 sālamajakura saṃna khaṃmasa khaṃmasaina babati
7 2000,- tophā sālagu. saṃna arbā khaṃmasaina śrimukha saṃ-
8 vacharā babati doni hajāra cakare
9 1050,- pa. trikaṭura vaḍaka vaṭa paikiṃ deha tini nakhti
10 gutagā tuṃmhi kabula kelyā ba. sālamajakura
11 bhava saṃvacharācā yaivaja yeka hajāra paṃnāsa cakare
12 3050,-
13 pestara agāu sāleṃ tini babati
14 6000,- tophā babati sāhā hajāra cakare
15 2000,- saṃna khaṃmasa khaṃmasaina bhava saṃvacharā ba.
16 doni hajāra cakare
17 2000,- saṃna sita khaṃmasaina yuva saṃvacharā ba.
18 doni hajāra cakare
19 2000,- saṃna sabā khaṃmasaina dhātu saṃvacharā ba.
20 doni hajāra cakare
21 6000,-
22 3150,- pa. trikaṭura vaḍaka vaṭa paikiṃ deha tini nakhti gu-
23 tagā tuṃmhi kabula kelyā ba. tini hajāra yekaśeṃ
24 paṃnāsa cakare
25 1050,- saṃna sita khaṃmasaina yuva saṃcharacā[1] yaivaja ye-
26 ka hajāra paṃnāsa cakare
27 1050,- saṃna sabā khaṃmasaina dhātu saṃvacharacā yai-
28 vaja yeka hajāra paṃnāsa cakare
29 1050,- saṃna saṃmāna khaṃmasaina isvara saṃvacharacā
30 yaivaja yeka hajāra paṃnāsa cakare
31 3150,-
32 9150,-
33 yekuna 12200,- bārā hajāra doniśeṃ cakare rāsa[2] khāvā nāika yāṃce
34 gujāratineṃ pāvale pa.hu.ra.ma. hajarata rājaśri narasiṃga rāva
35 anaṃda rāu peśave mortabu suda saṃmata hu-ruju sura- samata khā-
36 juranavisa navisa sakhela

1. For *saṃvacharacā*.
2. The sign for *rā-* seems to be a cross between the earlier *ra.* as used in no. 3 and *rāsa* written in full as done in nos. 33,34,47.

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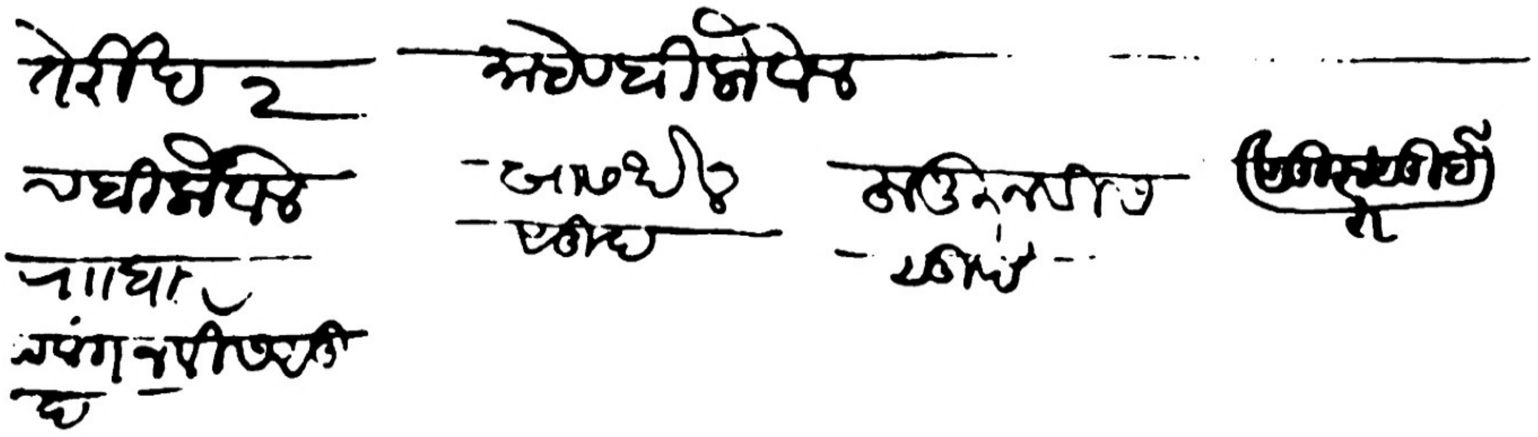

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37 terikha 2 māhe rabilauvala
38 rabilauvala khāsakhela hujuranavisa ru suru suda
39 ra. bāra suda suda
40 palaṃganavisa su-
41 da

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[illegible]

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Document no. 6.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 20.09.1759.

śrī

1 māhārāja
2 ǎjama ākarama dānasaphara koṭa dina-
3 mārga sayora govarṇadora kiristiyāna
4 pridirka hoyara baṃdara taragaṃbaḍi dāma
5 mohabatahu
6 iṃ
7 mohibāna panāhā makhaliśāna dastagāhā ǎji
8 sāda kula dila baḷāji havaladāra salāma mohavala makasuda uki
9 yethila khusihali khabara jāṇauna āpali khusihali khabara hameśā
10 lihita gela pāhije digara rājeśrie[1] sāhebāni āmha-
11 sa bolāuna tumhā kaḍila tophā cauṃpācā varuṣācā yeka sara
12 ǎṇava mhaṇauna tākida keli divaṇāuna tumhāsa kāga-
13 da yeṇāra āheta vartamāna kaḷāve mhaṇauna lihile āse ye vi-
14 ṣai āmhāsa vicārile je nāgapaṭaṇacyāsa sāguna
15 pāṭauna caupāṃcā varuṣācā tophā āṇavilā āhe te ka-
16 bula jāhāle āheta yā karitā taragabaḍi tumaci madhesti
17 ki tyā kaḍuna hi caupāṃcā varuṣācā tophā gheuna dyā pestara
18 majarā deu mhaṇauna sāṃgitale tyāsa āmhi tyāṃsa yeva bajā-
19 ija āli nāhi tyā hi vegaḷa peramāḷa nā.ce kalāpā karitā lu-
20 ṭi houna bahuta cheda jāhālā āhe tyā karitā āgāu deṇe
21 kaṭiṇa mhaṇauna sāṃgitale tyāsa rojeśri[1] sāhebāni
22 bahuta rāga bharuna peramāḷa nā.cā kalāpa koṇā karitā
23 ālā tyāṃ karitā ca ālā tadhi ca karatorā dekhila nāhi-
24 se houna jāvayāce te āgadi tumaci goṣṭi yekuna tuma-
25 cyā madhestine laskara gele hoteṃ teṃ dekhila bolāu pāṭauna
26 [...] kaḍuna cālavita ālo taisa- [...]

1. The spellings of this word are odd in the whole document.

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27 [...]-raṃgi yāsi miḷuna tyā [...]
28 dā uparāḷayāsa kiteka pharaṃgi hi hātā deuna vilāyeti- [...]-
29 dhāvayāsa āle tyā madhe āpaṇa kiteka vilāyeti bāṃdhāvi mha-
30 ṇauna tajavija karuna āle tyāṃ hi vegaḷa nāṃgura baṃdara luṭile to
31 sāmāna yekaṃdara tyāni nime yāne nime gheuna sakaḷa sāmāna hi
32 gheuna gele dāhā lakṣa cakariyācā sāmāna nelā āhe teṇa pra-
33 māṇe nāgurace māmāledārāne hisoba lihivilā āhe va te-
34 thila mokāma harakāriyācā valā ghaḍighaḍi ālā āhe tyā ma-
35 dhe bahuta sāmāna luṭilā āhe mhaṇauna lihile āhe ātāṃ
36 māyorace subhedārāne rājeśrie[1] goḍa rāyāsa kāgada pā-
37 ṭavilā āhe jeṃ āmace vilāyeti paiki jamina bahuta
38 bādhili āhe bahuta divasā pāsuna divaṇaci jamina
39 ānabhavitāti tyā babeṃ divaṇāsa bahuta paike yeṇe ā-
40 heta mhaṇauna lihuna pāṭavile āhe te vartamāna tāgāḍe rā-
41 yāni āmhasa sāṃgitale tyāsa te āgadi tumhāsa
42 garaja nāhi tyāṃci madhesti koṇāsa āhe ki tyāṃceṃ gumāne
43 yeuṃ deto ca āmhāsa sāṃgale[2] mhaṇauna sāṃgitale mhaṇāleṃ
44 tyāsa āmhi sāṃgitale je pahile hotā to dhaṇi jhuṭa
45 kāḷa hotā tyāne kuṃpinisa hi droha karuna divaṇā-
46 sa hi droha karuna yaisa nāhi te labāḍi karita hotā tyā kari-
47 tā to jāuna ātā nave dhaṇi āle āheta te garhasta āhe-
48 [...] -ta [...] -lati goṣṭi yuktāyukta niṭa tajavija karuna karaṇe paratu
49 jāsti karaṇe nāhi divaṇaci priti saṃpādāvi mhaṇauna
50 āheta mhaṇauna phāra sāṃgitale tyāsa rojeśri[1] divaṇāni
51 parabhāra koṇa kāye sāṃgitale tari tumaci goṣṭi visvā-
52 sa mānuna cālavile tyāsa ātā phukaṭa māganāsa caupācā

2. For *cāṃgale*.

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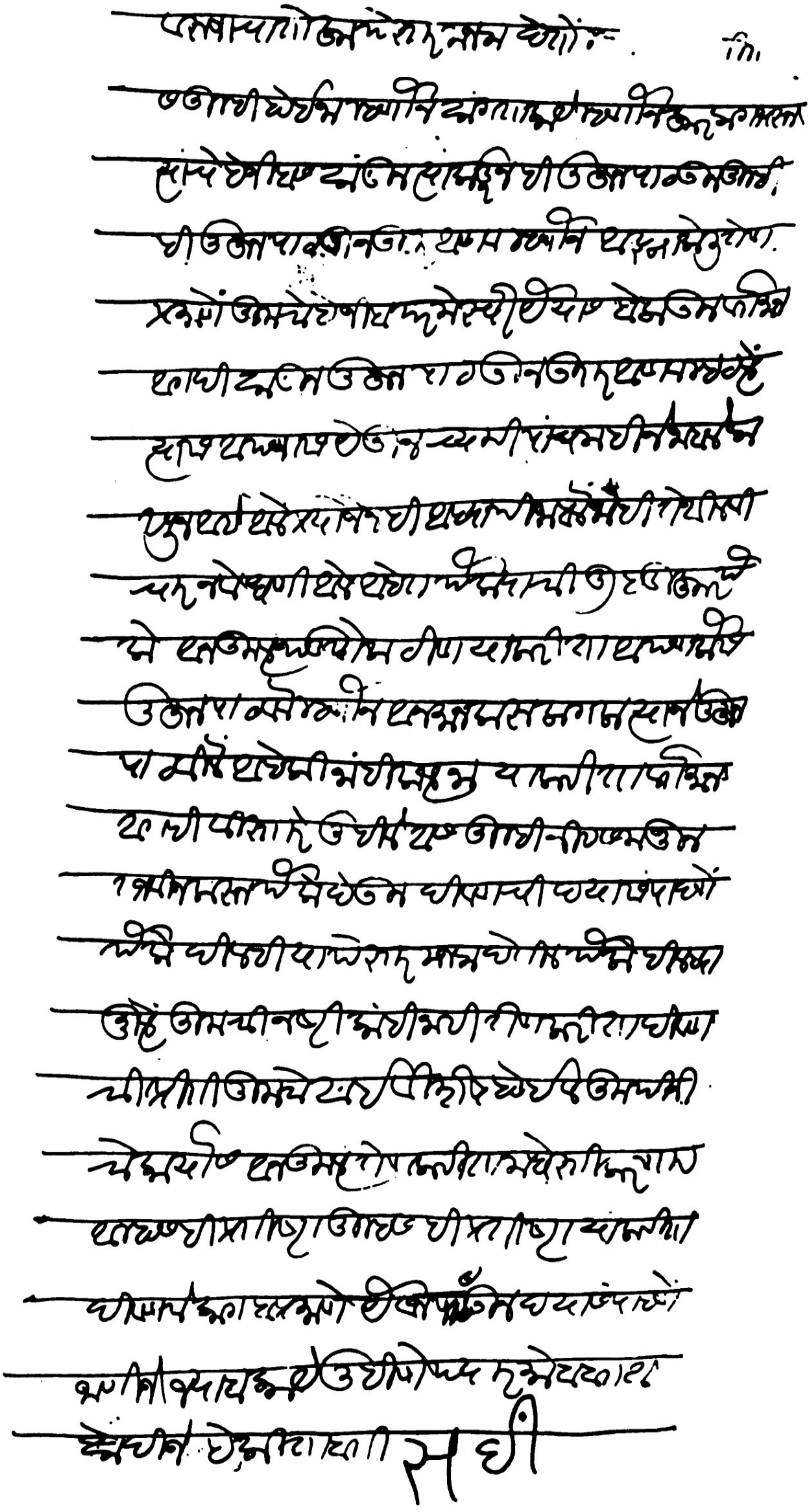

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53 varuṣācā tophā pestara majarā detoṃ [...]-
54 sa tumhi hoinā mhaṇauna sāṃgatā kāye mhaṇauna phāra rāga bharuna
55 tyāṃce hejibasa sāṃguna tyā kaḍuna hi lihuna pāṭauna tumhi
56 hi lihuna pāṭauna utara āṇava mhaṇauna ājnā keli teṇa
57 pramāṇeṃ tumace hejiba paramesvera yaiyāsa[3] belāuna[4] vartamāna
58 āgadi sāguna lihuna pāṭauna utara āṇava mhaṭaḷeṃ
59 tyāsa āpaṇāsa yeuna cyāri pāṃca mahine jāhāle rā-
60 khuna āhe āle prayojena hi ādyāpi jāhāleṃ nāhi tethila vi-
61 cāra nave dhaṇi āle āheta paikayāci tubaḍi phāra pai-
62 ke ānakuḷa paḍaṇe kaṭiṇa yā karitā āpaṇa kaisa
63 lihuna pāṭavave mhaṇauna ānamāna karu lāgalā tyāne lihuna
64 pāṭavileṃ āhe ki nāṃhi kaḷanā yā karitā vartamāna
65 āgadi vistāre lihile āsa tumhi niṭa samajuna
66 tajavija karuna paike deuna divaṇaci dayā saṃpādaṇeṃ
67 paike dilahi yā pestara majarā detila paike dilahyā
68 muḷeṃ tumaci naṣṭi kāṃhi nāhi teṇa karitā divaṇa-
69 ci priti tumace ṭhāi viśeṣa hoila kupini-
70 ce kāryāsa ānakuḷa teṇa karitā madhesti karaṇāra
71 āmhāsa hi pritiṣṭā tumhasa hi pritiṣṭā yā karitā
72 divaṇace kāgadā pramāṇe yaivaja pāṭhauna dayā saṃpādaṇeṃ
73 jāṇije jyādā kāye lihiṇe pyāra mohābata ā-
74 soṃ dije he kitābati saiṃ

3. For *yaisiyāsa?*
4. For *bolāuna.*

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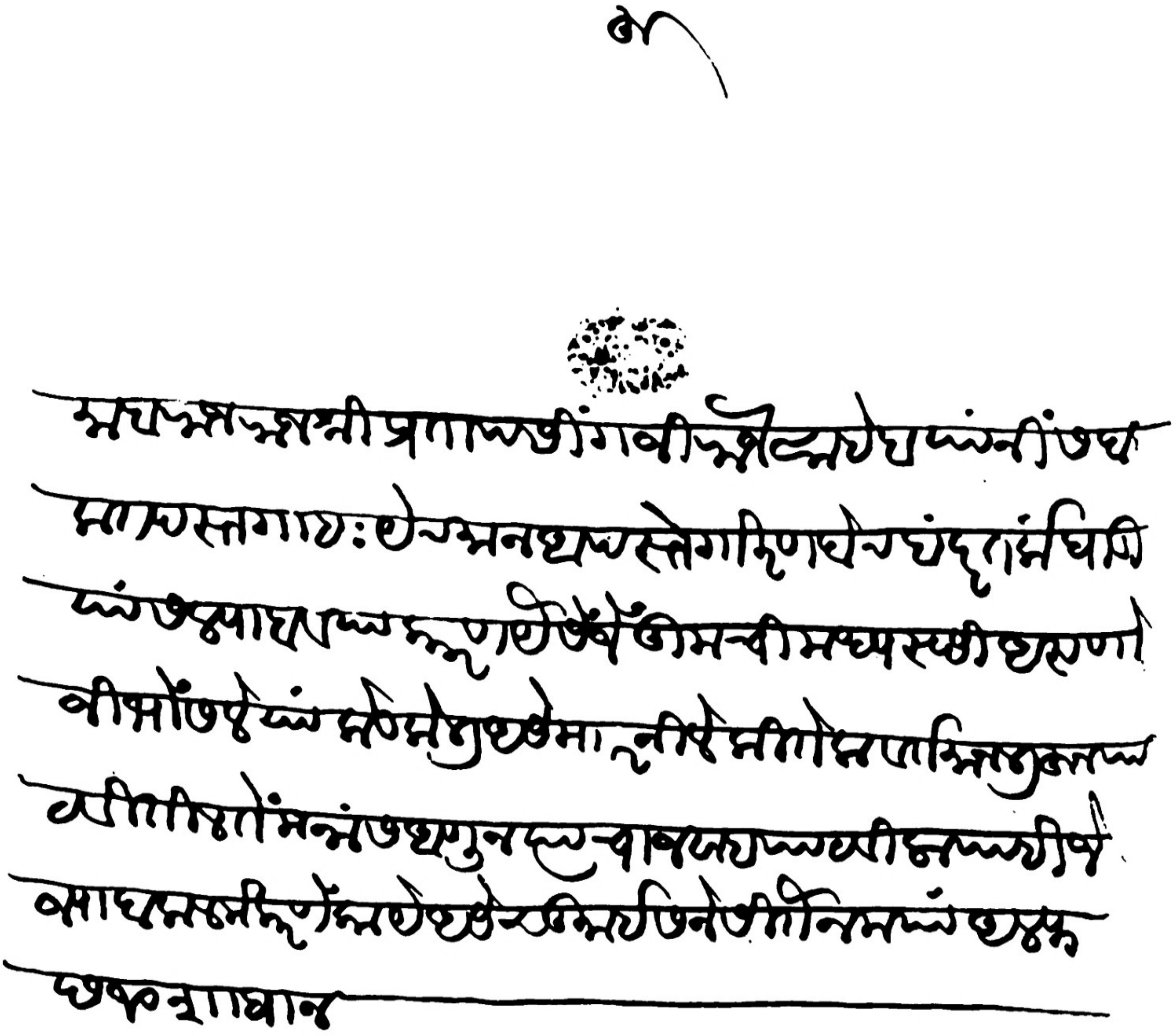

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Document no. 7.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
06.03.1762.

hu

1 māhārāja rājaśri pratāpasiṃgaji rāje sāheba yāṃniṃ sadā-
2 kata dastagāhaḥ yeramāna ā̌paste goraṇadora baṃdara tarkaṃbāḍi
3 yāṃsa lyāhāvayā kāraṇa yaiseṃjeṃ tumaci madhyaschi aruṇo-
4 ji bhoṃsale yāṃ kaḍe keli ase ma. ranile kiteka vartamāna lihuna pā-
5 ṭavitila teṃ manāṃsa ā̌ṇuna tyācā javāba pāṭavilā pāhije
6 jyādā[1] kalame karaṇeṃ kāye ase su. isane sitaina mayāṃ alapha
7 cha 10 śābāna

1. A reading *jayādā* is also possible.

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Document no. 8.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 06.03.1762.

hu

1 māhārāja
2 ajama akarama dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga siyora
3 govarṇadora yeramāna apaste baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāma
4 mohabatahu
5 mohibāna panāhā mokhalisāna dastagāhā aji aruṇojiṃ
6 bhoṃsale [...] makasu- [...] uṃki yethi- [...] khusi khabara jāṇuṃna
7 [...
8
9 ...]
10 purvi igareṃja vālyā karitāṃ pharāsi yāṃsi pu-[...]-ṇadvaiṣa karuṃna ghetalā tyā-
11 niṃ sasthānā vari rājakāraṇa karuṃna vilāyeti yekaṃdara luṭi labāḍi- [...] -tale
12 khāra kharāba karuṃna kilyā ghyāvā [...]-haṇuna kilyā vari cāli keli asatāṃ a-
13 lyā ganimāsa māruṃna kāhaḍile yethuna nighuna gelyā naṃtara tyāṃni cenāpa-
14 ṭaṇā vari rājakāraṇa karuṃna kilā jera kelā tevhā igareṃja satyavacani
15 amhasa va tyāṃsa sneha saṃdarbha cālata alā āhe tyāṃce hita te amace hita
16 yaiseṃ mānuṃna amaci tubaḍi na pāhatāṃ svārabāra uparāḷyāsa pāṭa-
17 una ganimāsa taṃbi pohacāvili tadanaṃtara puduceri vari igareṃjāni
18 cāli keli tevhā svārabāra pāṭavāveṃ mhaṇāle tyā karitā phauja ravānā karuṃna ga-
19 nimāsa gardesa miḷauna phate kele tricanāpali kaḍe phauja pāṭauna kite-
20 ka kāmakāja kale[1] yā sivāye kiteka sādhaka keleṃ te sakaḷa hiṃ tumhasa dekhala

1. For *kele*.

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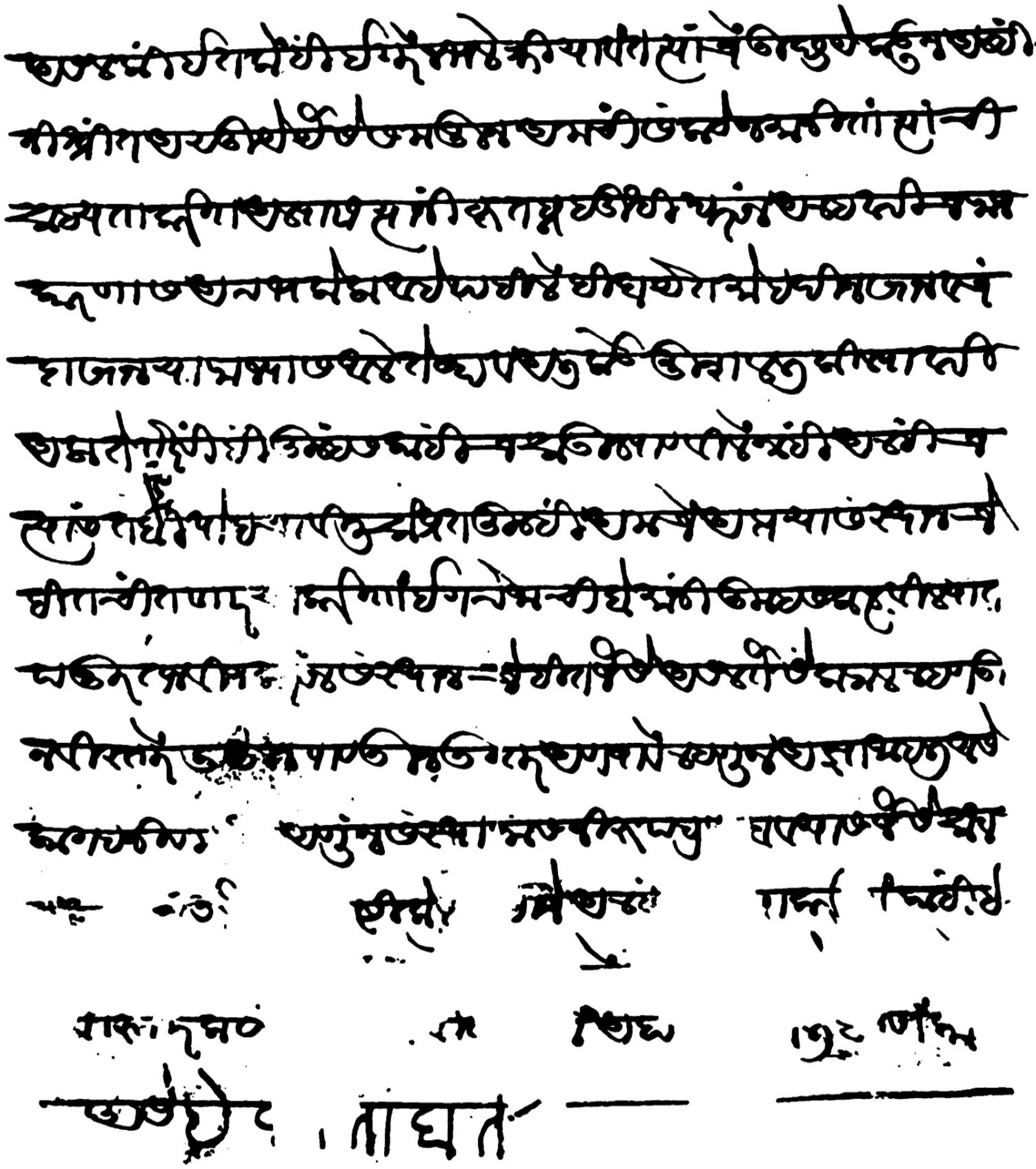

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21 asala kiṃ itake hiṃ igareṃja bhale kriyāvaṃta tyāṃceṃ uchraye kaḍuna amhiṃ
22 niścimta asu ye yaise samajuna amaciṃ saṃkaṭe na mānitāṃ tyāṃci
23 sāhayatā karita alyāsa tyāṃni kr̥taghna budhi dharuṃna amha vari ca rāja-
24 kāraṇāsa arabha kelā āhe pahileṃ hi dāyeta mohadina khāna va caṃ-
25 dā khāna yā rājyāsa āle tevhā va alikaḍe muśa lali kilyā vari
26 alā te vakhtiṃ hiṃ tumhaṃsa kāhiṃ ca sāguna pāṭavileṃ nāhiṃ amhiṃ ca
27 tyāṃsa taṃbi pohacāvili sāṃprata tumhiṃ amaceṃ apta yā saṃsthānace
28 hita ciṃtaṇāra yā karitāṃ igarejāci bemāniṃ tumhasa kaḷavilyā ta-
29 danura[2] tajavija karuṃna saṃsthānace hita jaise asala taiseṃ karāla mhaṇau-
30 na vistāreṃ lihuna pāṭauna utara aṇavāveṃ mhaṇuna ajñā jāhali āse
31 kāgada [...] -ṇuṃna saṃsthānāsa nirupadrava [...] -vayāsa jaise sādha-
32 [...] asa- [...] amhiṃ [...
33
34] vistāra- [...]
35 ase he [...]- tābati

2. For *tadanusāra*.

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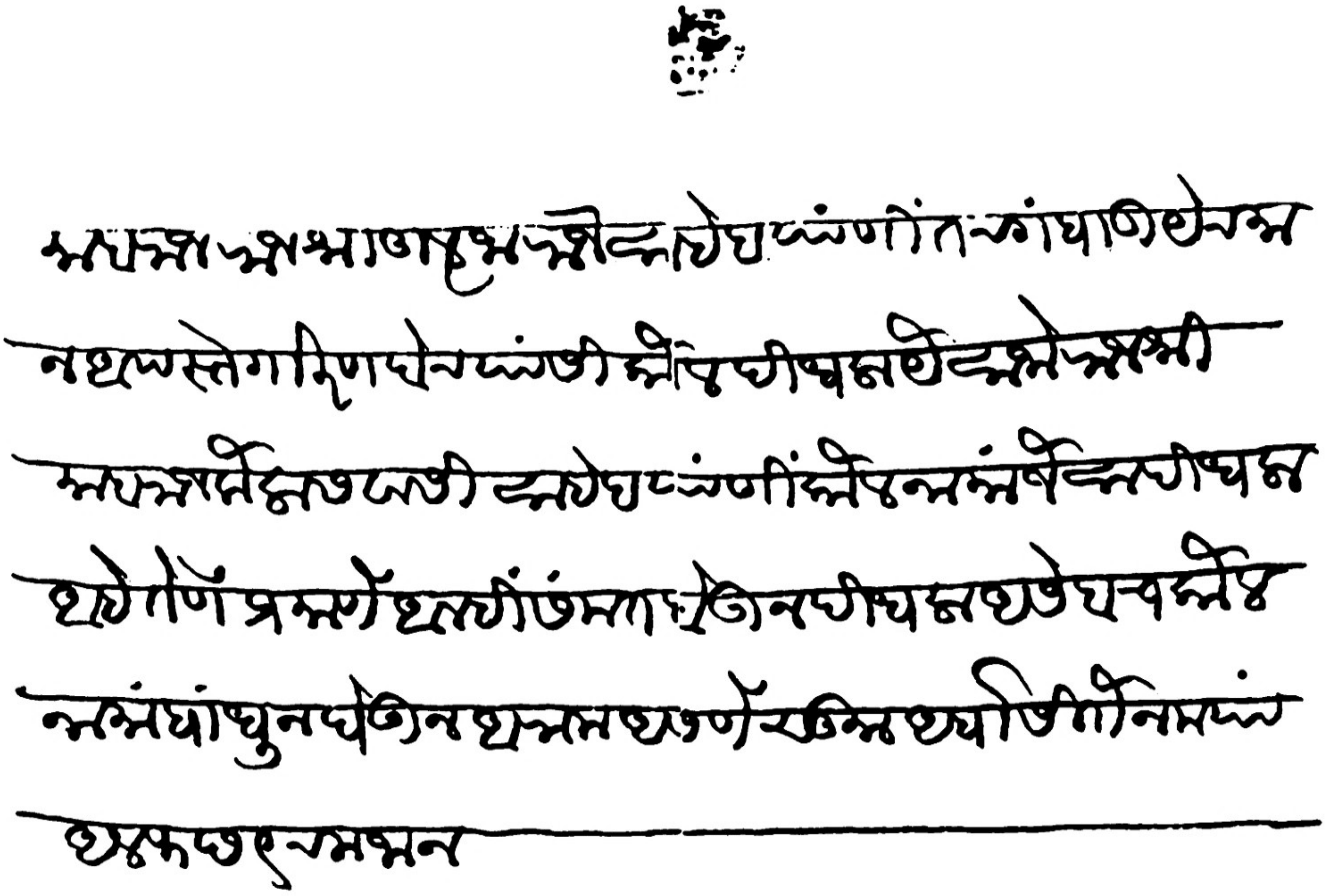

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Document no. 9

RA AsK 2186 (b)
12.03.1764.

1 māhārāja rājaśri tuḷajā rāje sāheba yāṃṇiṃ taragaṃbāḍi yeramā-
2 na ăpaste goraṇadora yāṃsi kaula didhalā yaisājo rājaśri
3 māhārāja kailāsavāsi sāheba yāṃṇiṃ kaulanāmāṃ jaisā didhalā
4 ăhe teṇeṃ pramāṇeṃ ămhiṃ saṃmata houna didhalā ase hā ca kaula-
5 nāmāṃ bāṃdhuna gheuna ărāma asaṇeṃ su. arbā mayāṃ
6 alapha cha 9 ramajāna

The word *kaula* refers to the contents of the agreement and *kaula-nāmā(ṃ)* to the written document containing it. Both are covered by the Anglo-Indian word 'cowle'.

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Document no. 10 J

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 18.03.1764.

māhārāja
ajama akarama dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga saṃyora go-
varṇadora yeramāna apaste baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi dāma
mohabatarhu
mohibāna panāḥ mokhaliśāni dastagāhāḥ aji a-
ruṇoji bhosale salāma mohavala makasuda uki yethi-
la khuśi jāṇuna apali khuśahāli khabara lihita ale pāhi-
je digara apaṇā kaḍila kāryesta phiraṃgi doghe va śeṣācela
seṭi yāsa hi barābari deuna rājeśri sāhebā
kāraṇe kiteka sāmāna sara- [...] pāṭavila kiṃ teṇa pramāṇe
yeuna pāvale tyāsa rājeśri sāhebāci bheṭi karauna
aṇilā sāmāna hi hujura praviṣṭa karuna alyā kāryestā-
sa vastreṃ hi deuuna[1] pāṭavila ase mohibā kāraṇe rāje-
śri sāhebācā kaulanāmā va vastreṃ hi daṃḍakā pramāṇe
deuna pāṭavile ase varakaḍa vartamāna śeṣācela seṭi sāṃgatā
māluma hoila jyādā[2] kāye lihiṇe he kitābati

1. For *deuna*.
2. See no. 7, note 1.

8*

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Document no. 11. J

RA AsK 2183 (a)
R 07.07.1764.

1 māhārāja
2 ajama akarama dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga saṃyora
3 govarṇadora yeramāna apaste baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāma
4 mohabatahu
5 mohibāna panāḥ mokhalisāni dastagāhāḥ aji haṇa-
6 maṃta rāva bhosale salāma mohavala makasuda aṃki yethila khu-
7 śi jāṇuna apali khuśāli khabara hameśā lihita ale pāhije di-
8 gara baṃdara majakuraci madhesti rājeśri sāhebi amhā kaḍeṃ
9 keli ye bābeṃ tumhāsa patra hi lihileṃ ahe te pāṭavila ase tethila
10 kāryebhāgā viśaiṃ kāgadapatra ale tari śruta karuna pratyutara hi saṃ-
11 ve ca saṃve pāṭavila jāila māyora subhyāṃta rāmā nāikāci kāvali
12 kāhāḍuna peramāḷa nāikāsa sarakārāṃtuna dilahi ase yaisiyāsa tuṃ-
13 mhi tyāṃsa tumace gāṃvāta gharaṭā va vasoṃta tara je asela te daṃḍakā pra-
14 māṇe cālauna tyāce kāvalisa tumhā kaḍuna vhāve yāceṃ sādhaka[1] ava-
15 ghe niṭa karuna deṇeṃ aṇi rāmā nāikā kaḍila rāmabhadra piḷyāne sara-
16 kārāsiṃ tanākhori keli ahe mhaṇauna harakāre māhāladāra pāṭauna
17 aṇitānā tumhi aṃgā vari gheuna harakāre māhāladārāsa kāgadapa-

1. For *sādhana*? Cf. no. 24, l. 56; no. 25, l. 50.

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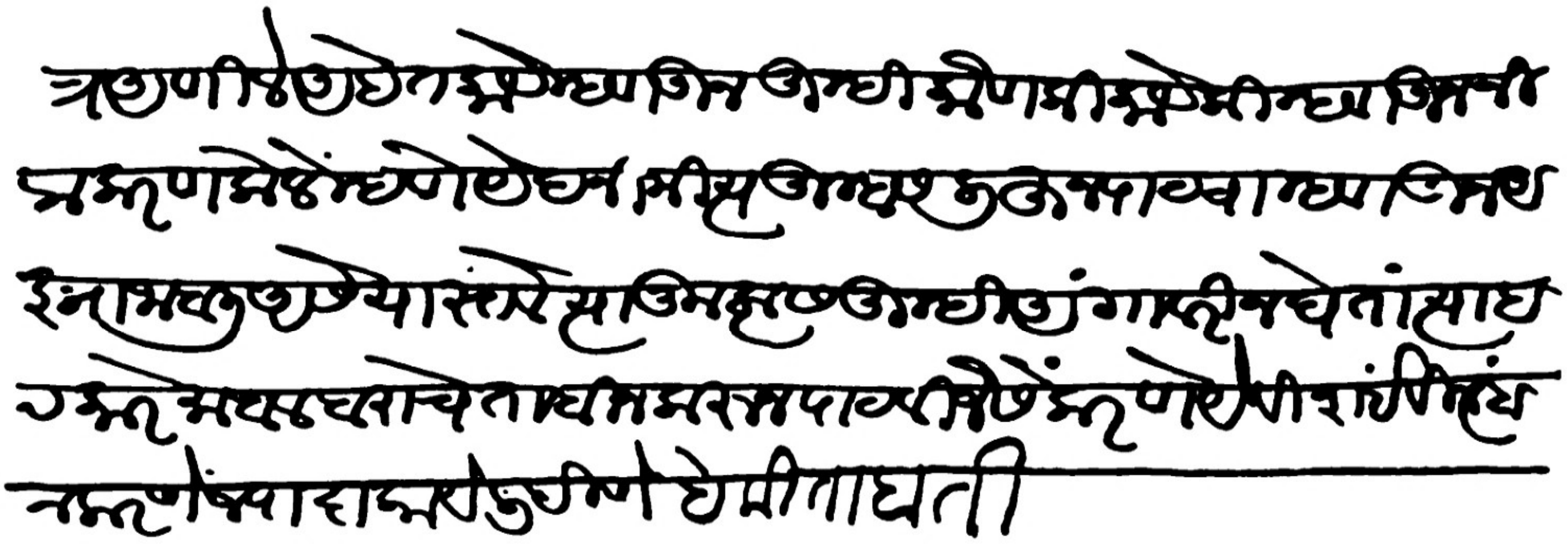

18 tra aṇile aheta kāye mhaṇauna tumhi koṇa ki kāye ki mhaṇauna ni-
19 rākaraṇa keleṃ mhaṇe yedanimitya tumhāsa lihuna pāṭavā mhaṇauna a-
20 jñā jāhāli ase yā stave tyā kuḷāsa tumhi aṃgāvari na ghetāṃ tyā ha-
21 rakāre māhāladārāce tābina karuna pāṭavijeseṃ karaṇe ye viśaiṃ viḷaṃba
22 na karaṇeṃ jyādā[2] kāye lihiṇe he kitābati

2. See no. 7, note 1.

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Document no. 12

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 08.07.1764.

1 [...]-rama dā- [...]-ra koṭa dinamārga govarṇadora
2 [...]-na āpaste baṃ- [...]- ragaṃbāḍi dāma mohabatarhu
3 mohibāni panāḥ mokhali- [...] dastagāhāḥ aji ha-
4 ṇamaṃta rāva bhoṃsale salāma mohavala makasuda aṃki yethila khuśi
5 jāṇuna apali khuda khuśi hameśā kalame karita asile pāhije
6 digara tumhi khata pāṭavila te pāuna lihilā makasuda kaluṃ
7 alā tyā maghāreṃ rāmabhadra piḷyāsa dharuna aṇāvayāsa harakāre māhāladāra
8 ale ṭāiṃ kāgadapatra gheuna ale nāhita mhaṇauna aṭakāvileseṃ
9 lihile te māluma jāhāle ye bābeṃ hujuruna hi ajñā jāhāli ahe
10 yā stave tumhāsa khata pāṭavile ahe tyā varuna māluma asela daravi-
11 lā teṇa pramāṇe rāmabhadra piḷyāsa tyāce tābina karuna pāṭavaṇe tyāne
12 sarakārāsi phāra tanākhori keli ahe yā stave lihijeleṃ jyā-
13 dā kāye lihiṇe rāmabhadra piḷyāsa sitābi hujura pāṭavileṃ pāhije
14 jyādā lihiṇe kāyeṃ ase [...] kitābati

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Document no. 13. J

RA AsK 2186 (b)
Terminus a quo 00.07.1764.
Terminus ad quem 00.00.1766.

māhārāja
ajama akarama dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga saṃyora govarṇa-
dora yeramāna apaste baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāma mohabatarhu
mohibāna panāhā makhaliśāna dastagāhāḥ aji haṇa-
maṃta rāva bhoṃsale salāma mohavala makasuda uṃki yethila khuśi
jāṇuna apali khuda khuśi khabara hameśā lihita asila pāhije
digara peramāḷa nāikāci kāvali kāhāḍuna rājeśri sā-
hebāni rā. bāḷāji rāva siṃde yāṃce madhyastine rāmā nāikā-
sa marhāmata keli ase yaisiyāsa tumhi hi yāci kāvali va mā-
nye gharadāra deuna daṃḍakā pramāṇe adare kaḍuna cālavile pāhi-
je jyādā kāye lihiṇe he kitābati

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Document no. 14. J

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 11.04.1776.

ajama akarama dānasaphara koṭa
dinamārga siṃyora goraṃdora dāvi-
da brauna baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāma
mohabatahu
iṃ
mohibāna panāhā mokhaliśāna dastagāhaḥ aji
siṃvharāja narahari paṃḍita salāma makasuda uṃ-
ki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna apali ṣādamāni hameṣā
kalame karita ale pāhije digara iṃgareja kumpa-
ṇicyāni dayā karuna purvila śneha na visaratā
nyāyā vari va kirti vari driṣṭi deuna śriṃmaṃta
rājaśri māharāja sāhebāsa yethā prakāra rājya
svādhina karauna paṭhābhiṣeka kelā mhaṇāvayāce
vartamāna yaikuna tamāma deśātila abāla vr̥̊tdha
sarvatra jena bahuta anaṃdā te pāvale te hakikata a-
paṇāsa hi jāhira ca asala ki apaṇa saṃsthānace
aptahitaciṃtaka houna aji tāgāita śrimaṃta
rājaśri māharāja sāhebacyā bheṭici apekṣyā
na kelyā muḷe bahuta apurva bhāsale sāṃprata śrimaṃ-
ta rājaśri māharāja sāhebi apalyā ṭhāi dayā ka-
runa bheṭisa yeṇese hukuma kelā ase tari daṃḍa-
kā pramāṇe yeuna bheṭi gheuna jāṇe utama ase bā-
je hakikata bhima rāva sāṃgatā kaḷu yeila dosti-
cyā ṭhāi jyādā kalame karaṇe kāye ase pyāra mohaba-
ta asu dije

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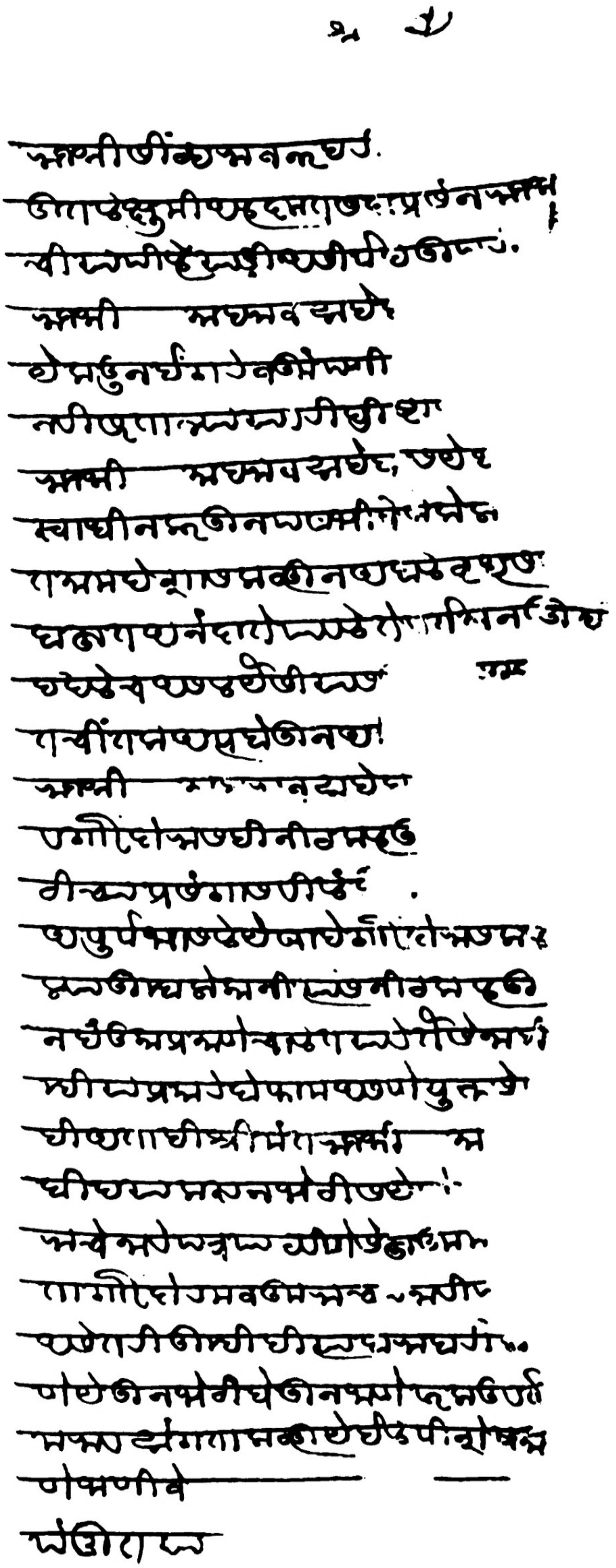

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Document no. 15

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 11.04.1776.

śrī

rājaśri siṃvharāja narahari [...]-
ḍita lekṣumi aḷakr̥ta sadā prasaṃna rājaśri [...]-
ci yā piḷe yāsi asirvada upari [...]
rājaśri māharāja sāheb- [...]-
ye kaḍuna iṃgareja kuṃpaṇi- [...]
na visaratā nyāyā vari driṣṭa- [...]
rājaśri māharāja sāheb- [...]-sa yetha [...]
svādhina karauna paṭhābhiṣeka kelā te [...]
tamāma deśāsa kaḷuna abale vr̥tdha sa- [...]
bahuta anaṃdā te pāvale te vartamāna [...]
dakhale ca asala yaisiyāsa [...]-
ta ciṃtaka apta houna a- [...]
rājaśri māharāja sāheb- [...]-
va goraṃdorāsa hi niṭa kaḷau- [...]-
ṭicyā prasaṃgāsa vil- [...]
apurva bhāsale yekhāde goraṃdorāsa ka- [...]-
lyā tumhā lokāni tyāṃsa niṭa kaḷau- [...]-
na daṃḍakā pramāṇe cālata yāve taise nāhi [...]-
mhi yā prakāre bephāma asaṇe yukta [...]
hi atā hi śrimaṃta rājaśri mā- [...]-
bi dayā karuna bheṭisa ye- [...]-
rāce nāve patra pāṭavi- [...]-se hukuma [...]-
tā goraṃdora majakurā ca- [...vi...]-
ase tari tumhi hi tyā barābari [...]-
ṇe yeuna bheṭi gheuna jāṇe varakaḍa varta-[...]-
ma rāva sāṃgatā kaḷu yeila viśeṣa [...]-
ṇe bhaṇije [...]-
paṃḍita yā- [...]

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श्रीरामप्रताप

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Document no. 16. J

RA AsK 2183 (a)
R 12.05.1778.

māhārāja rājaśri tuḷajā rāje sāheba yāni sadākata dastagāhā dāvida brauna goraṃdora baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsi lyāhavayā kāraṇe yaiseje tumhi khata pāṭavile te pohaṃcuna hakikata māluma jāhale śakaratārā paiki kaḷomāna va kapitāna vikamāna va dubhāṣi taṇḍici piḷe vagaireni yeuna amaci bheṭi gheuna tumhi pāṭavili najara gujarānili tumhi priti kaḍuna visvāse kaḍuna kāryastā samāgame najara pāṭavilyā muḷe te najara amhi kabula karuna saṃstānacyā ṭhāi tumhāsa ahe to visvāsa pāhuna bahuta khuṣi te pāvalo alyā kāryastāsa amhi hi karāvayāci maryādā keli dinamārga kuṃpaṇisa amhāsa pahile pāsuna ahe tyā dostisa vityāsa yeināse tumhi cālaṇyā muḷe tamāma baṃdara valyāṃta tumaci neki jāhireta ali ayeṃ desa hi saṃsthānacyā kāryāsa daṃḍakā pramāṇeṃ cāluna gheuna amacyā manāsa saṃtoṣa hoyejese karaṇe tumhā kāraṇeṃ khilayeta va vajrāci mudi yeka va kausalā kāraṇe khilayeta pāṭavili ase trikaḷāceri sāha gāvace jakāyeticā prasaṃga va bāje hakikata siṃvharāja narahari paṃḍita yāṃcyā lihiṇyā varuna māluma hoila jyādā kalame karaṇeṃ kāye ase

śrīrāmapratāpa

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Document no. 17. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
R 12.10.1779.

1 ajama akarama dānasaphara koṭa dina-
2 mārga siṃyora goraṃdora yeramāna apaste
3 baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāma mohabatahu
4 iṃ
5 mohibāna panāha mokhaliśāna dastagāhā aji
6 siṃvharāja narahari paṃḍita salāma makasuda uṃki ye-
7 thila khuṣi jāṇuna apali ṣādamāni hameṣā kalame kari-
8 ta ale pāhije digara māyoracā kāvaligāra rāmacedra
9 nāika apalyā baṃdaracyā tāluketa rāhuna amaladā-
10 rāni kāye kaula deuna balāu[1] pāṭavilyā hi tyā kadeṃ yeu-
11 na ruju hoināse sarakāracyā mulukāta bahuta kāṃhi julu-
12 ma jorāvāri karuna manuṣyāsa dekhila jive mārilā va sarakāra
13 mhaṇāvayāci hada nāhise sarakāracyā manuṣyāsa dekhila
14 dharuna neuna apalyā baṃdarāṃta kaṣṭi kele te apaṇāsa da-
15 khale ca asala yā sivāye kutāla śeṭyāce ghara luṭuna ne-
16 lā yeṇe pramāṇe sarakāracā droha karaṇāra badamāmili naphara
17 mhaṇuna apalyāsa kaḷuna hi apaṇa tyāsa aśrā deuna
18 ṭeuna ghetale te bahuta aścirya bhāsale dinamārga vāle
19 nyāyevaṃta grahasta saṃsthānace hitaciṃtaka sarakārace kāryā-
20 sa anakuḷe kaḍuna śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāheba-
21 ce manogatānusāra vartaṇuka karaṇāra mhaṇuna prasitdha
22 asatā apalyā adhikārāta yeṇe pramāṇe sarakāracā dro-
23 ha karaṇārāsa aśrā deṇe bahuta anucita ase a-
24 paṇa pahile kuṃpaṇicyā tararphene adhikāra karita asa-
25 tā dekhila saṃsthānacyā kāryāsa bahuta anakuḷe ka-
26 ḍuna cālata hotā sāṃprata tari dinamārga rājyācyā

1. For *bolāu*.

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taraphene adhikārāsa alā aṃhā yaiśiyāsa pahilyāpekṣyā adhika sarakāracyā kāmāsa anakuḷe kaḍuna cālun na śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebaci dayā saṃpādaṇe apaṇāsa vihita teṇe kaḍuna dinamārga vālyāsa va saṃsthānāsa anyonya śnehābhivṛtdhi hoila yāsa anyathā vhāvayā joge cālaṇe anucita ase amhi apale dosta jāhalyā karitā apalyā khubi stava lihile ase teṇe pramāṇe amaleta aṇile pāhije tyāsa nidarśana kāye mhaṇāli yā sāṃprata śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebi hukuma kelyā varuna sarakāracā harakārā va māhaladāra va yeka pāharyāce sipāi yāsa pāṭavile ase tari dekhata patra rāmacedra nāikāsa tyāṃ samāgame deuna pāṭavilyā tyā kaḍila prasaṃga sarva hi manāsa aṇuna tyācyā kāvalici baṃdobasti keli jāila yā kāryāsa apaṇa kāṃhi tari harakata keli yā saṃsthānāsi virodha kelāsā hoila teṇe kaḍuna śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebace citāsa viṣāda vāṭala te thora yeu deṇe apaṇāsa yukta navhe mhaṇuna śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebace hukumā pramāṇe lihile ase apaṇa budhivaṃta ahā tethe jyādā kalame karaṇe kāye ase pyāra mohabata asuṃ dije

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Document no. 18. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
31.12.1779

ajama akarama dānasaphara koṭa
dinamārga siṃyora goraṃdora
yeramāna apaste baṃdara taragaṃ-
bāḍi dāma mohabatahu
iṃ
mohibāna panāha mokhaliśāna dastagāhā
aji siṃvharāja narahari paṃḍita salāma makasuda
uṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna apali ṣādamāni
hameṣā kalame karita ale pāhije digara apalā
dubhāṣi taṃḍāci piḷe gelyā naṃtara tyācā udyo-
ga tyāce bhāu apu piḷyāsa deuna cālavitā
mhṇāvayāce vartamāna yaikuna śrimaṃta rājaśri
māhārāja sāheba bahuta saṃtoṣi jāhale atā hi
saṃsthānacā javābasvāla daṃḍakā pramāṇe piḷe maja-
kurācyā māraphatine cālatā karaṇe sāṃprata sarakā-
rāta kiteka yaivaja pāhije lāgato tyāsa apaṇa
karja deviliyā tamasuka lihuna deuna vāi-
dyā pramāṇe yaivaja yāvāvayā jogemārga karuna
devita aso yeṇe pramāṇe apaṇāsa lihiṇese
śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebi hukuma ke-
lyā varuna lihile ase he kāma apaṇa karuna

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22 deviliyā śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebacyā
23 adhikadayesa pātra vhāla apaṇa saṃsthānace hita-
24 ciṃtaka va amace dosta jāhalyā karitā amhi li-
25 hilyā pramāṇe cālavāla mhaṇuna lihile ase bāje
26 hakikata nāgayā sāṃgatā kaḷu yeila śrimaṃta
27 rājaśri māhārāja sāheba meharabāna houna apa-
28 ṇā kāraṇe ināma vastre va ghoḍā yeka va mestara likasta
29 yāsa vastre pāṭavili aseti te daṃḍakā pramāṇe ghetale
30 pāhije dosticyā ṭhāi jyādā kalame karaṇe kāye ase
31 pyāra mohabata asuṃ dije
32 yādi vastra pāṭavilyā-
33 cā tapasila
34 1 maṃdila mahatābi
35 1 cādara mahatābi
36 2 jāmevara mahatābi
37 pharada
38 1 nilakha ukali buṭedāra
39 5
40 yā kherija mestara likasta
41 yāsa vastre pāṭavili
42 1 maṃdila mahatābi
43 1 cādara mahatābi
44 2

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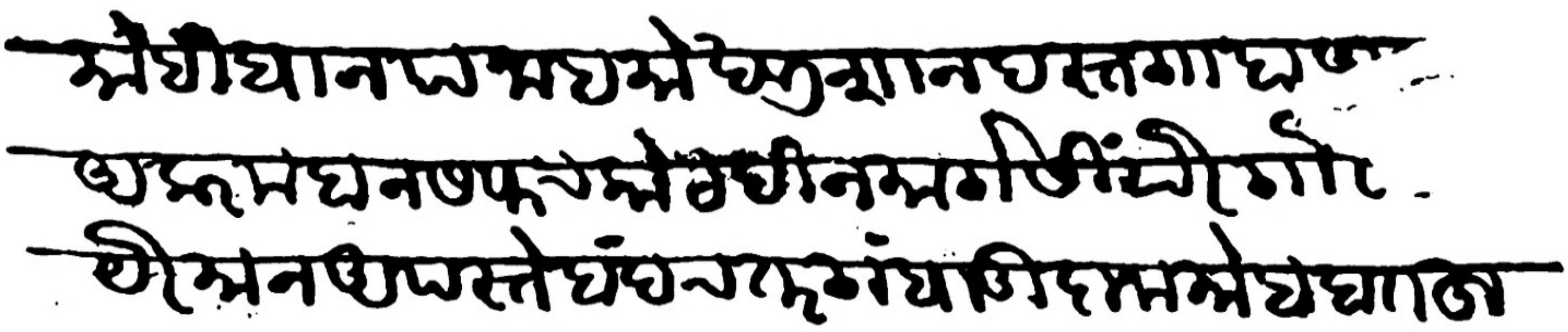

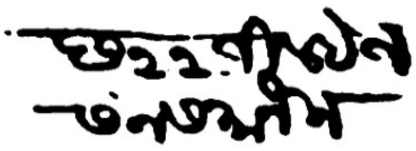

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45 mohibāna panāha mokhaliśāna dastagāhā [...]
46 akarama dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga siṃyora gora- [...]
47 yeramāna apaste baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāma mohabatahu
48 cha 22 jilaheja
49 saṃna samānaina [...]

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Document no. 19. J RA AsK 2186 (a) 2
24.12.1784.

1 māhārāja rājaśri tuḷajā rāje sāheba yāni sadākata dastagā-
2 ha yeramana apaste goraṃdora baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsi lyāhāveṃ-
3 yā kāraṇa yaisaje tumhi saṃna 1784 sāla kārtika māsa 15 tā-
4 rikhesa amace nāveṃ patra dubhāṣi tānāsi piḷece vidyamāneṃ
5 pāṭavileṃ te praviṣṭa houna manāsa aṇuna bahuta saṃtoṣā teṃ pā-
6 valoṃ tumhāṃ kaḍila levādevicā hiśoba sarva hi śobhakr̥tu saṃva-
7 tchara pāvetoṃ vārāvāri karuna je deṇa ṭharaleṃ te paike sarva hi dubhāṣi
8 tānāsi piḷe kaḍe deuna paike pāvalyāsa rasida hi gheuna ṭevi-
9 li va śobhakr̥tu saṃvachara pāvetoṃ tophā vagaire bābatice paike a-
10 mhāṃsa pāvalyāsa hi amace mohare nisi rasida lihuna pāṭavili aseṃ
11 tumhi snehamārgeṃ kaḍuna kiteka artha lihilyā varuna manāsa bahu-
12 ta saṃtoṣa jāhalā tumhi bahuta bhale va amacā sneha hi viśeṣa a-
13 pekṣuna ahāṃ tyā karitāṃ tumace utama guṇā vari va tumace baṃda-
14 rā vari hi amhāsa bahuta dayā ahe tyā muḷeṃ utarotara snehamārga
15 niṭa ca cālela mhaṇauna tumhi samajuna sarva viṣai khātarajameneṃ
16 asāveṃ
17 tumhāṃ kāraṇeṃ vastrācā dusta pāṭavilā ahe tari kevhāṃ hi cālāveṃ-
18 yāce daṃḍakā pramāṇeṃ gheuna amace manāsa saṃtoṣa hoilase karaṇeṃ
19 dostice ṭāi jyādā kalami karaṇe kāye śrīrāmapratāpa

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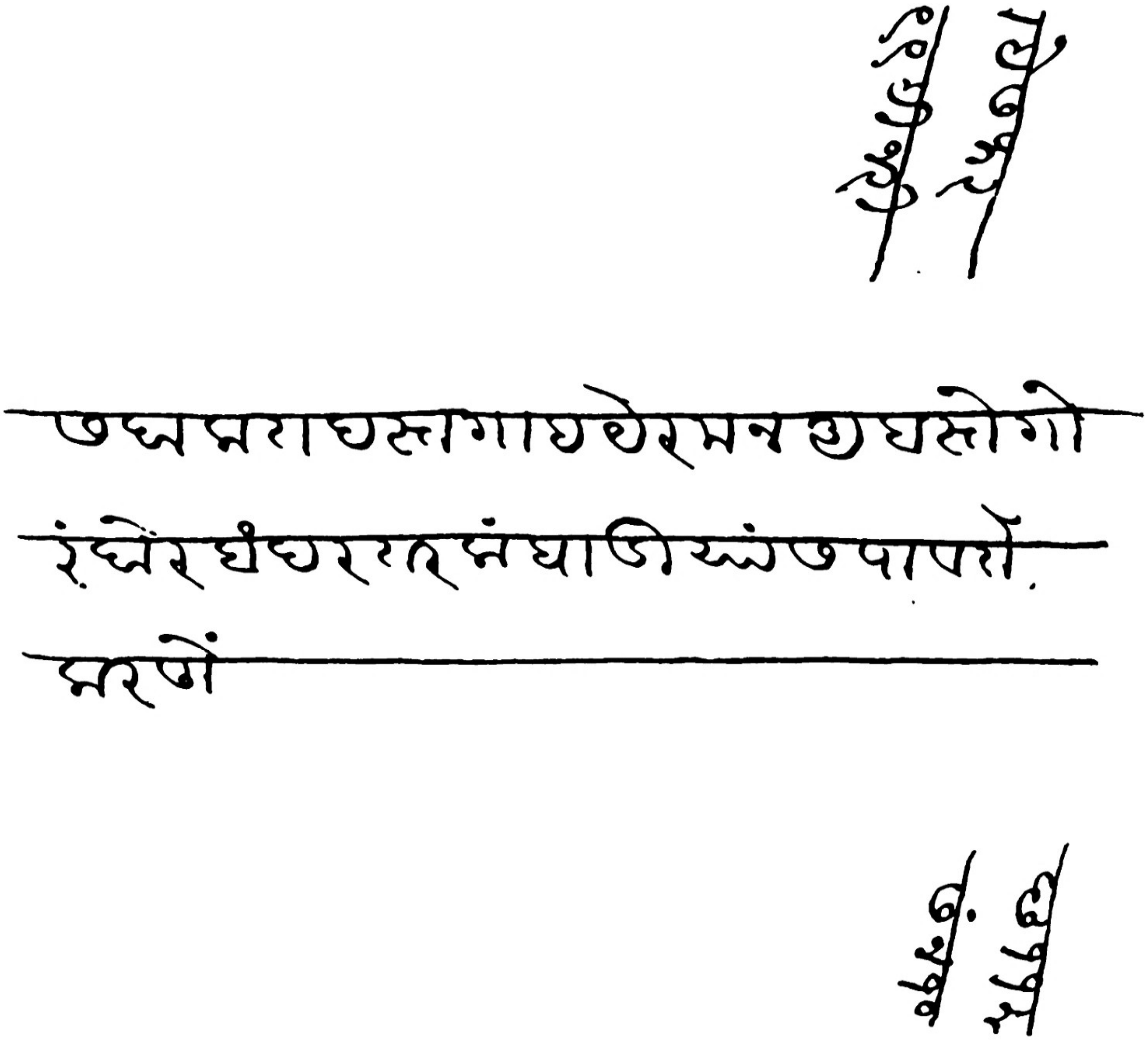

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20 sadākata dastagāha yeramana abaste go-
21 raṃdora baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsa pāvate
22 karaṇeṃ
23 cha 11 māhe saphara
24 saṃna 1199 hijari

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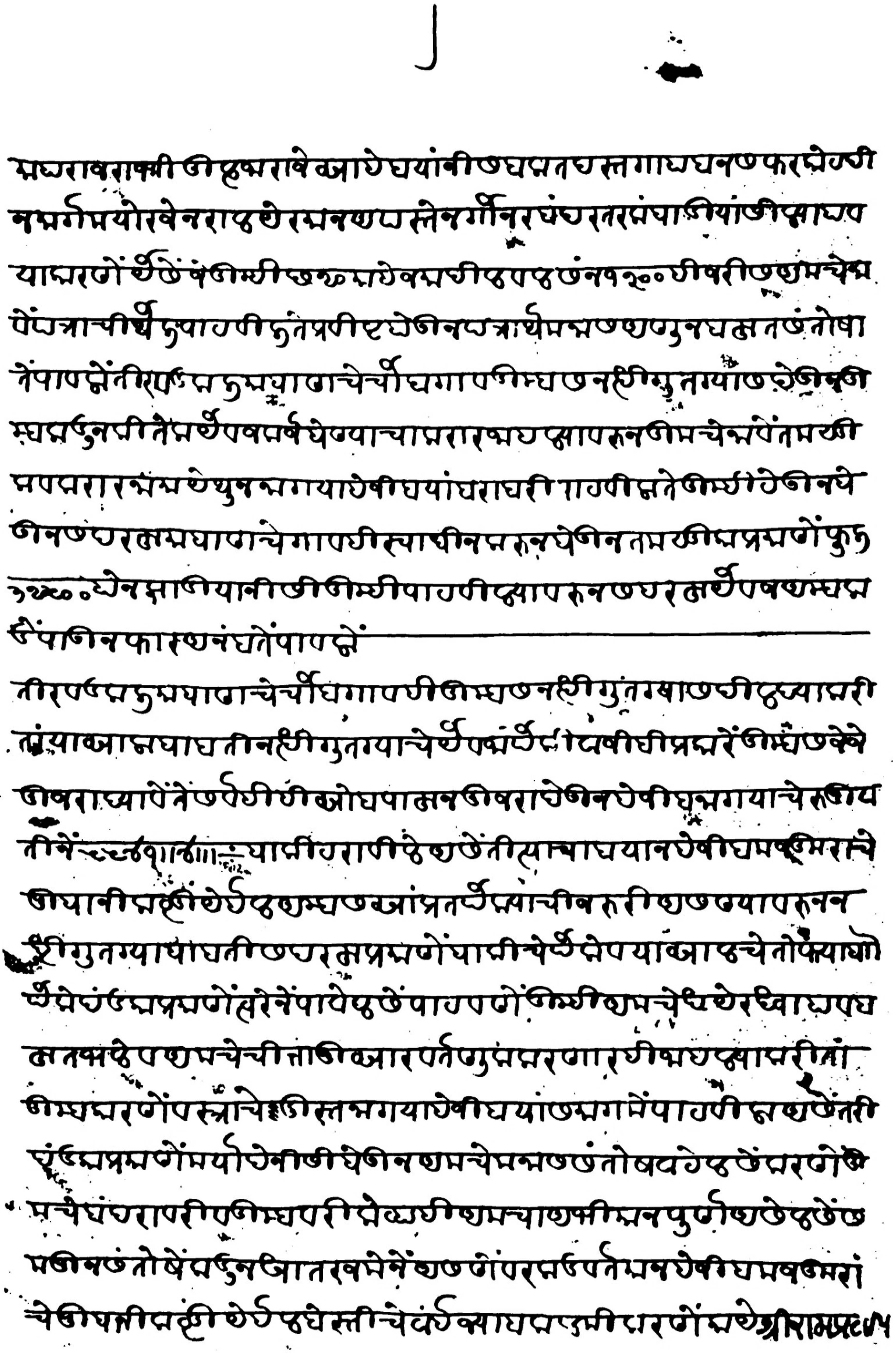
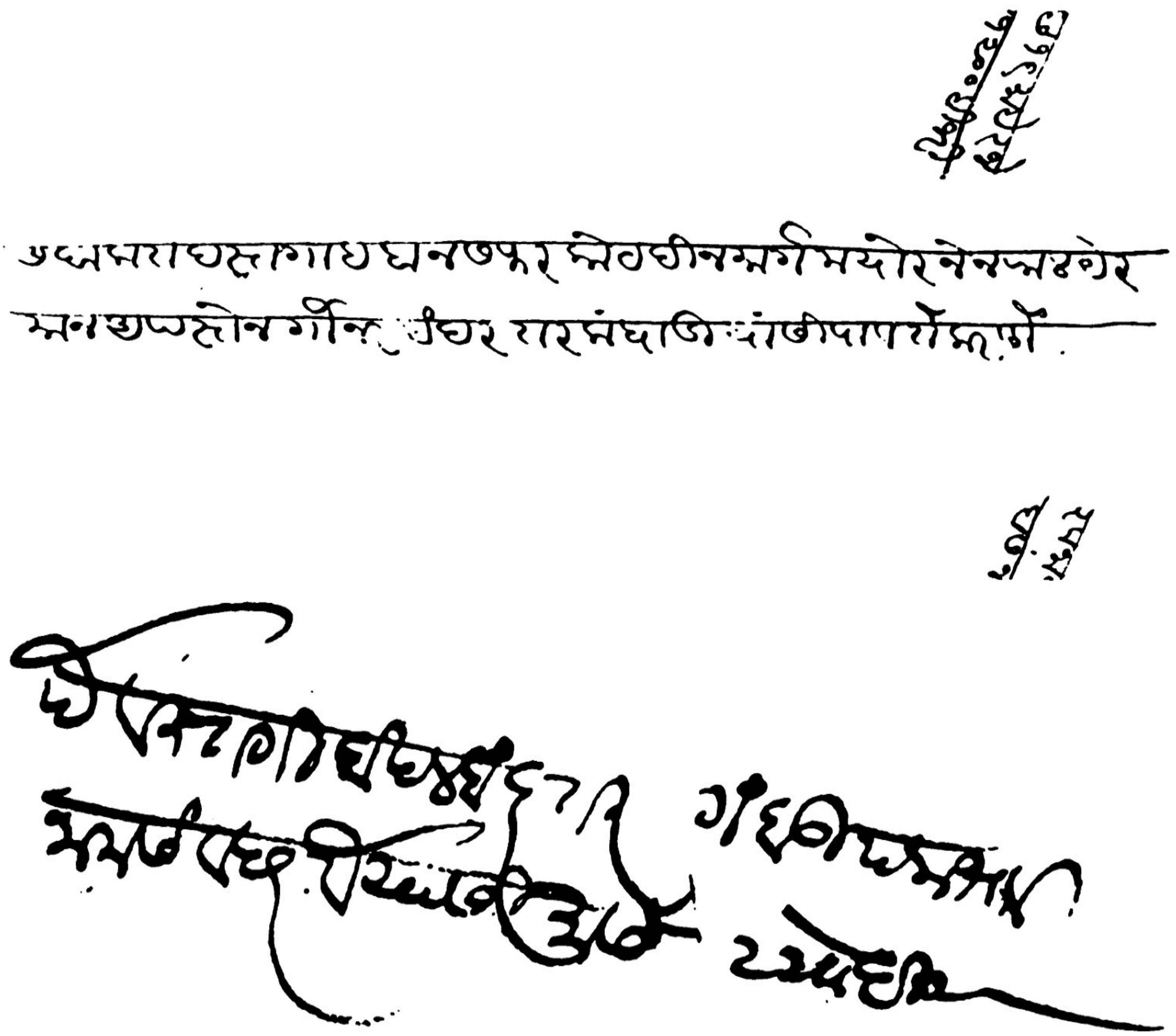


Document no. 20. J RA AsK 2183 (d)
18.05.1786.

1 māhārāja rājaśri tuḷajā rāje sāheba yāṃni sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa di-
2 -namārga mayora jenarāla yeramāna apastena gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsi
lyāhāva-
3 yā kāraṇeṃ yaiseṃje tumhi cha 20 māhe jamādilavala saṃna 1200 hijarisa
amace nā-
4 veṃ patrāci thaili pāṭavili te praviṣṭa houna patrārtha manāsa aṇuna bahuta
saṃtoṣā
5 teṃ pāvaloṃ tiravaḍakali māghāṇace caudā gāva tumhāsa nakhti gutagyāsa
deuna tu-
6 mhā kaḍuna kiteka yaivaja karja gheṇyācā karāra jāhalyā varuna tumace
nāveṃ tamasu-
7 ka va karāranāmā yethuna nāgayā hejiba yāṃ barābari pāṭavilā te tumhi
ṭeuna ghe-
8 una sadarahu māghāṇace gāva hi svādhina karuna gheuna tamasukā pramāṇeṃ phuli
9 32500 hona jhāḍiyā nisi tumhi pāṭavilyā varuna sadarahu yaivaja amhā ka-
10 ḍeṃ pāuna phāra anaṃdā teṃ pāvaloṃ
11 tiravaḍakali māghāṇace caudā gāva hi tumhāsa nakhti gutagyāsa dilhyā kari-
12 tāṃ yā sālā bābati nakhti gutagyāce yaivajā paiki vājibi prakāreṃ tumhāsa je je
13 mujarā dyāveṃ teṃ sarva hi hisoba pāhuna mujarā deuna hejiba nāgayāce
rujuvā-
14 tineṃ 5541 – 4 bāki ṭarāvile aseṃti tyācā bayāna hejiba majakurāce
15 jubāni kaḷuṃ yeila amhāsa sāṃprata paikyāci jaruri asaṇyā varuna na-
16 khti gutagyā bābati sadarahu pramāṇeṃ bākice paike va yā sālace tophayā bā.
17 paike daṃḍakā pramāṇeṃ tvareneṃ pāvelaseṃ pāṭavaṇeṃ tumhi amace
khayerakhvāhā va ba-
18 huta bhale va amace cittānusāra vartaṇuka karaṇāra hi jāhalyā karitāṃ
19 tumhā kāraṇeṃ vastrāce dusta nāgayā hejiba yāṃ samāgameṃ pāṭavilā
aseṃ tari
20 daṃḍakā pramāṇeṃ maryāde nisi gheuna amace manāsa saṃtoṣa vāṭelaseṃ
karaṇeṃ tu-
21 mace baṃdarā vari va tumhā vari kevhā hi amacā abhimāna purṇa aselaseṃ sa-
22 majuna saṃtoṣeṃ kaḍuna khātarajameneṃ asaṇeṃ varakaḍa vartamāna
hejiba majakurāṃ-
23 ce jubāni kaḷuṃ yeila dostice ṭāiṃ jyādā kalami karaṇeṃ kāye śrīrāmapratāpa



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24 sadākata dastagāha dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora jenarāla yera-
25 māna apastena gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsi pāvate karaṇeṃ
26 ravānā cha 19 māhe raje-
27 ba saṃna 1200 hijari
28 paivastagi dākhala baṃdara taragaṃbaḍi parābhava
29 nāma saṃvachara vaikhāsi māse 22 ve di- [...]

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Document no. 21. J **RA AsK 2183 (d)**
18.05.1786.

1 māhārāja
2 ajama akarama sadākata dasta-
3 gāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga
4 mayora jenarāla yeramāna apa-
5 stena gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi
6 dāma mohabatahu
7 iṃ
8 mohibāna panāhā mokhalisāna dastagāhā aji raghunātha paṃḍita salāma uṃ-
9 ki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna apali ṣādamāni hameṣā kalami karita aleṃ pāhije
10 digara apaṇa saṃna 1200 hijari cha 8 māhe rabisānisa yeka patra va cha 20 māhe
11 jamādilavaliṃ yeka patra yā prakāreṃ doni dapheneṃ amace nāveṃ patrācyā thailyā pāṭa-
12 vilyāṃ teṃ praviṣṭa houna patrārtha manāsa aṇuna hajuri hi jāṇateṃ karuna a-
13 paṇa purvi pāsuna sarakārace kāmā viṣai yeka citteṃ kaḍuna vartaṇuka kari-
14 ta ahāṃ te hi hajuri arja karuna apali tāripha amacyāneṃ jitaki karavela
15 titaki keli tyā varuna śrimaṃta rājaśri sāhebāṃce manāsa phāra saṃto-
16 ṣa vāṭalā te kāhi lihijeseṃ nāhi amace sarakārāsa apaṇā kaḍuna kiteka
17 yaivaja karja ghetalyāsa apale nāveṃ tamasuka va karāranāmā vagaire yethuna pahi-
18 leṃ pāṭavilyā varuna teṃ sarva hi ṭeuna gheuna va tiravaḍakali māghāṇace caudā
19 gāva hi svādhina karuna gheuna tamasukā bābati phuli 32500 honāsa hi
20 jhāḍayā nisi yaivajāci begami karuna pāṭavilyā varuna nāgayā hejiba
21 yāneṃ sadarahu yaivaja sarakārāsa pāvatā kelā
21 tiravaḍakali māghāṇace caudā gāva apaṇāsa nakhti gutagyāsa dilhe aheta
23 ki yā sālace nakhti gutagyā bābati ṇau hajāra cakaryā paiki apaṇā-
24 sa ajaru ye vājibi prakāre je je mujarā dyāveṃ teṃ sarva hi nāgayāsa ṭeuna
25 gheuna hisoba pāhuna mujarā deuna 5541-4 bāki ṭarāvile a-

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26 semti tyācā bayāna hejiba majakurāmce kalavanyā varuna apanāsa ka-
27 lum yeila apana sarakārace khayerakhvāhā va bahuta bhale va amace
dosta hi
28 jāhalyā karitām śrimamta rājaśri sāhebāmsa arja karuna apanā kā-
29 ranem vastrāce dusta nāgayā hejiba yām samāgamem pāṭavile asemti tari te-
30 them pāvatām ca damḍakā pramāṇem maryāde nisi vastrāce dusta gheuna tira-
31 vaḍakali māghāṇace nākhti gutagyā bābati bākicā yaivaja va yā sāla-
32 ce tophiyā bābati yaivaja sarakārāsa yenem ahe te hi begami karuna jala-
33 dinem hajurāsa pāṭavāvem amhi apale dosta jāhalayā karitām apale kāryā
34 viṣai hajuri amacyānem je hoila tem sādhaka karita yeum mhaṇauna a-
35 pana niścayem kaḍuna samajāvem aṇikhi kiteka artha nāgayā hejiba yāmce
36 sāmganyā varuna kalum yeila pyāra mohabata asum dije jyādā kalami kara-
37 nem kāye

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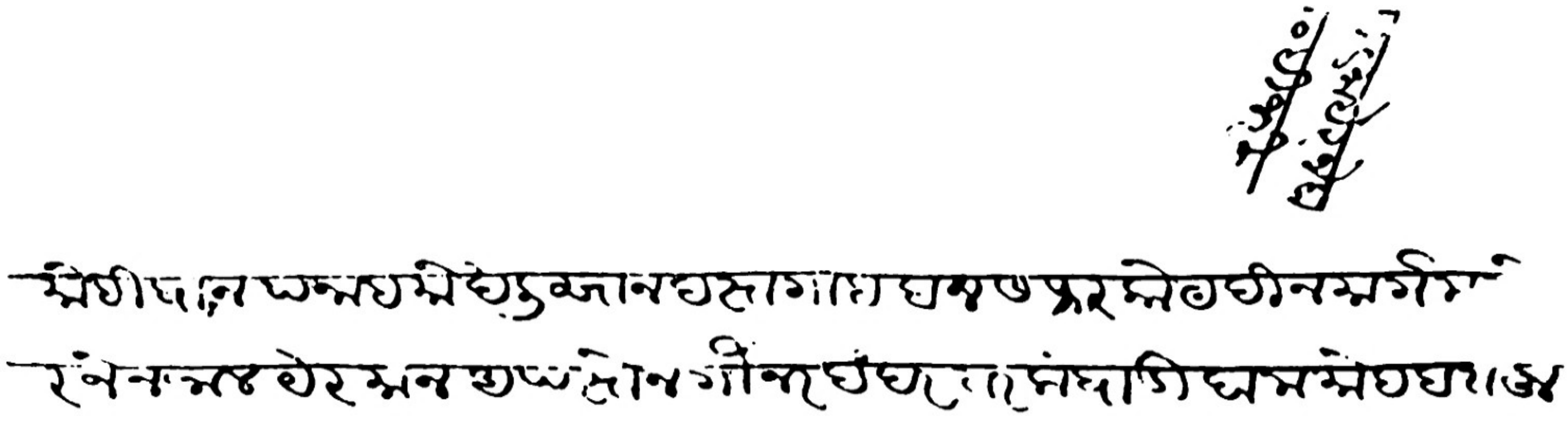

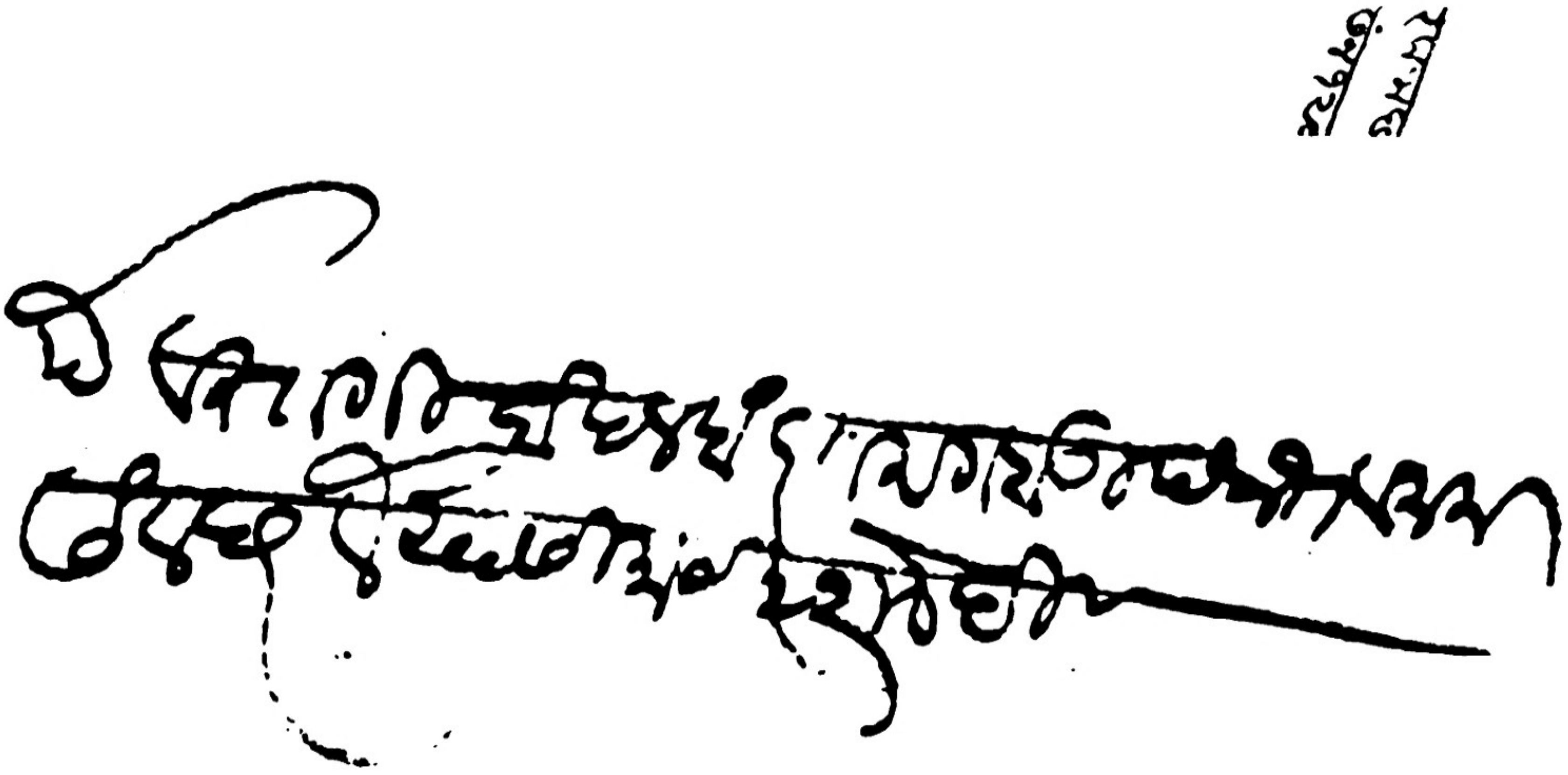

38 mohibāna panāha mokhalisāna dastagāha dānasaphara koṭha dinamārga ma- [...]-
39 ra jenarāla yeramāna apastena gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi dāma mohabatahu
40 ravānā cha 19 māhe rajeba
41 saṃna 1200 hijari
42 paivastagi dākhala baṃdara taragabaḍi parābhava nāma
43 saṃvachara vaikhāsi māsa 22 ve di- [...]

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38 mohibāna panāha mokhalisāna dastagāha dinasaphara kotha dinamārga ma- [...]-

39 ra jenarāla yeramāna apastena gaunara bamdara tarakambādi dāma mohabatahu
40 ravānā cha 19 māhe rajeba
41 samna 1200 hijari
42 paivastagi dākhala bamdara taragabadi parābhava nāma
43 samvachara vaikhāsi māsa 22 ve di- [...]

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Document no. 22. J RA AsK 2183 (d)

30.10.1786.

1 ajama akaraṃma sadākata dastagā-
2 hā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayo-
3 ra jenarāla yeramāna apastena gau-
4 nara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi dāma mohabata-
5 hu
6 iṃ
7 mohibāna panāhā mokhalisāna dastagāhā aji raghunātha paṃḍita sa-
8 lāma makasuda uṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna apali ṣādamāni hameṣā kala-
9 mi karita aleṃ pāhije ḋigara apaṇa cha 14 māhe ṣābana saṃna 1200 hijarisa
10 śrimaṃta rājaśri sāhebāṃce nāveṃ patrāci thaili va amace nāveṃ patrāci thaili
11 yā prakāreṃ pāṭavileṃ teṃ cha 20 māhe ṣābani praviṣṭa houna hajuriṃ vācuna dākhau-
12 na apaṇā vari saṃtoṣi hotilaseṃ keleṃ tiravaḍakali māghāṇace nakhti guta-
13 gyā bābati yaivajā paiki pāvati jātāṃ bāki ṭarāvilyā pramāṇeṃ yaivaja sarva hi
14 apaṇa pāṭavilyā varuna sālagujastece nakhti gutagyāce jhāḍayāsa cakare
15 5541 – 4 hi nāgayā hejiba yāṃce vidyamāneṃ sarakārāsa pohacuna vile lā-
16 una ghetaleṃ
17 sālagujastece tophayā bā. yaivaja pāṭavāveṃseṃ jarura jāṇuna apaṇāsa lihu-
18 na hi sadarahu yaivaja adyāpi pāṭavināseṃ alaśyā vari ca ghātaleṃ atā hi
19 apaṇā kāraṇeṃ hajurihuna patrāci thaili va vastrā- [...] dusta va sālagujaste-
20 ce tophayā bā yaivajāci rasida mohare nisi nāgayā hejiba va sarakārace hara-
21 kāre yā barābari pāṭavileṃ ase tari daṃḍakā pramāṇe maryā- [...] nisi patra va va-

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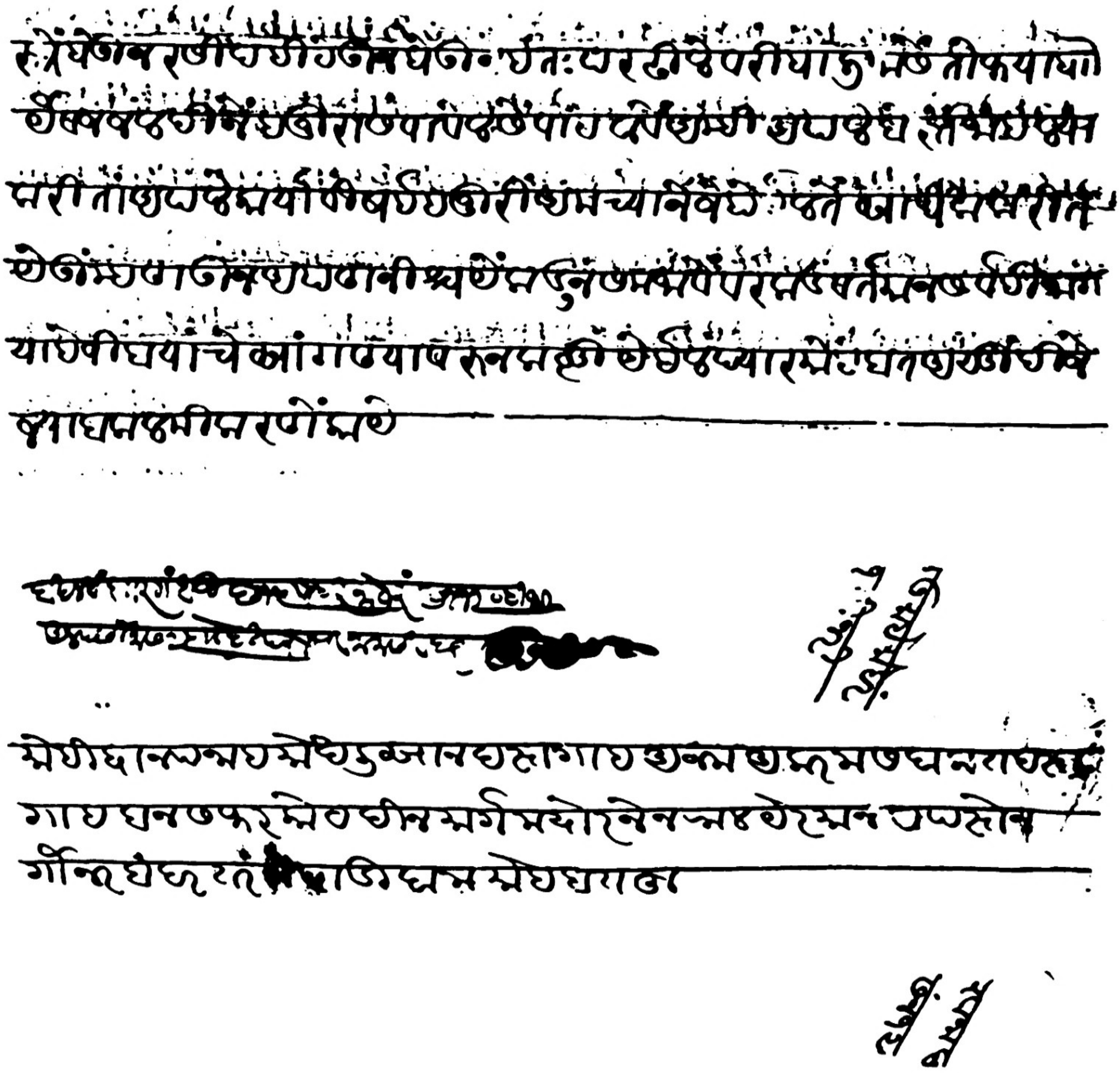

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22 streṃ gheuna rasida hi ṭeuna gheuna itaḥpara ḍhile vari ghālināseṃ tophayā bā.
23 yaivaja jaladineṃ hajurāsa pāvelaseṃ pātavāveṃ amhi apale dosta jāhalyā
24 karitāṃ apale kāryā viṣai hajuriṃ amacyāneṃ je hoila teṃ sādhaka karita
25 yeuṃ mhaṇauna apaṇa niścayeṃ kaḍuna samajāveṃ varakaḍa vartamāna sarva hi nāga-
26 yā hejiba yāṃce sāṃgaṇyā varuna kaḷuṃ yeila pyāra mohabata asuṃ dije
27 jyādā kalami karaṇeṃ kāye
28 mohibāna panāha mokhalisāna dastagāha ajama akarama sadākata dasta-
29 gāha dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora jenarāla yeramāna [...]-pastena
30 gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi dāma moha- [...]
31 ravānā cha 7 māhe moharaṃ
32 saṃna 1201 hijari
33 dākhala baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi cha 15 [...] moharaṃ sana 120(1) hijari
34 ampachi māsa 25 [...] parābhava nāma saṃvachara [...]

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Document no. 23. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
05.10.1787.

1 māhārāja rājaśri amarasiṃvhaji rāje sāheba yāṃni sadākata dastagā-
2 hā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora jenarāla yeramāna apastena gau-[1]
3 gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbādi yāṃsi lyāhāvayā kāraṇeṃ yaiseṃje pahi-
4 leṃ saṃsthānāsa mestara vāladara ale asatāṃ amhi rubaru ca ama-
5 ce saṃsthānace sāhukāra trimala rāyāṃce kāryā viṣai kiteka
6 artha sāṃgitaleṃ hoteṃ tyāsa javāba dilhe je amhi baṃdarāsa jāu-
7 na pāvatāṃ ca gaunarāṃsa sāṃguna apaṇa sāṃgitalyā pramāṇeṃ kā-
8 rya sarva hi karuna pāṭavitoṃseṃ mhaṇāle tyā gosṭisa hi doni ti-
9 ni mahine jāhale adyāpi kāhi javāba alā nāhi tad anaṃtareṃ
10 amhi muluka girisa nighālyā naṃtareṃ māyorace mokāmāṃta tu-
11 mace dubhāṣi dānāsi piḷe va subramhaṇi seṭi ubhayatra hi
12 ale asatāṃ amhi tyāṃsa niropa detānā hi trimala rāyāṃce kā-
13 ryā viṣai sāṃgitaleṃ hoteṃ dubhāṣi yāṃni tumhāsa kaḷavile
14 ca asatila ki taiseṃ asatāṃ hi tyāsa dekhila darajavāba ca nāhi-
15 seṃ ḍhile vari ghātilāṃ tyā upari trimala rāyāṃni amace ajñe
16 varuna tumace nāveṃ yeka patra va tumace dubhāṣyāce nāveṃ yeka patra va
17 tyāṃcā gumāstā śeṣācela seṭice nāveṃ yeka patra yā prakāreṃ vartaka-

1. The *akṣara* appears here by mistake.

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18 nyāyāsa cuku naye mhaṇauna vistāreṃ purvotara tumhāsa lihuna
19 pāṭavilyāsa tyā śeṣācela seṭice durmārgapaṇā vari ca dṛṣṭi
20 deuna tyālā na pāṭavitāṃ tumace dubhāṣi dānāsi piḷeni tri-
21 mala rāyāṃce nāveṃ alaśyāci uttareṃ lihilyā varuna alikaḍeṃ
22 tetheṃ jaladu sadāsiva seṭi mhaṇaṇārā kaḍeṃ trimala rāyāṃce va
23 suṃkarāma seṭice dukānace lakṣāvadhiciṃ tamasukeṃ vagaire
24 pudaceriṃta asaṇāra suṃka śeṣācela seṭicā nātu śeṣā-
25 cela mhṇaṇārāneṃ avāṃtarāsa lapauna ṭevile ṭāi tyā sadāsi-
26 va seṭineṃ tarakaṃbāḍice śeṣācela seṭisa yāce drākṣābāla
27 seṭi yāṃceṃ dastayaivaja aheseṃ kaḷavilyāsa tyā sadāsiva se-
28 ṭisa lāṃcaruṣavata kabula karuna pudacerita ahe tyā sukavā-
29 rāce porāsa hi yālā pāṭauna bodhanā karuna apaleṃ dastayaiva-
30 ja drākṣāvāli yāṃceṃ dastayaivaja gheṇe viṣai sadāsiva seṭisa
31 pudacerisa pāṭauna kṛtrima karuna teṃ dastaivaja ghyāveṃseṃ ke-
32 leṃ vartamāna yetheṃ jāhera jāhalyā varuna sadāsiva seṭi trivaṃgā-
33 sa pudacerisa jāveṃ mhṇauna svāra houna ale ṭāiṃ te vartamāna
34 amace lokāṃsa kaḷuna amhi tākida kelyā pramāṇeṃ dharuna
35 aṇāvayāsa gele ṭāiṃ apale kāryasthāṃsa ṭeuna pālakhi vagai-
36 re ṭākuna paluna tarakaṃbāḍisa jāuna pāvalā tyāce kāryasthāṃ-
37 sa pālakhi sahita aṇuna kuṃbhakoṇiṃ kaideṃta ṭevilyā vari tyā-
38 neṃ cāleṃ[2] vartamāna caughe vartakāce rubaru hāstākṣara lihuna dilhā
39 aheṃ te sarva hi amace sarakhela sivarāyāṃce bhāu śaṃkara rāyāṃni
40 bayāṃvāreṃ tumhāsa lihileṃ aseṃ tari teṃ niṭa manāsa aṇuna śe-

2. For *cālileṃ*, cf. document no. 24, note 4, and no. 25, 1.48.

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ṣācela seṭisa va sadāsiva seṭisa ale harakāre māhāladārāṃ samāgameṃ sakhta pāhareṃta ṭeuna hajura pāṭauna deṇeṃ itaḥpara hi yā viṣai ḍhila karāla tari yukta navheṃ tumhi vartaka amace chāyeṃta bahuta hi vasā pāsuna nyāyemārgeṃ kaḍuna aje pāvetoṃ vartaṇuka rita[3] alāṃ itaḥpara [...] hi taisi ca vartaṇuka karālaseṃ daragujara kelyāsa tyā durmārga lokāṃsa yaise kr̥trima karaṇārāṃsa tyāṃni tumace kuṃpaṇice kāmāṃta hi pahileṃ trikaḷāceri vagaire kāryāṃta tumhāsa vaṃcanā kelā vicāra hi kaḷalā asuna tyāṃci taraphena karita asāṃ tari phāra utama jāhaleṃ atāṃ hi dekhata patra haradoṃ seṭisa dharuna hajura pāṭavaṇeṃ yekhādeṃ na pāṭavāla tari haradoṃ śeṭyā varila tagādyāsa tumhi ca bādhya vhāveṃ lāgela athavā tethuna yeka pāuna[4] palikaḍeṃ gelyāṃ hi tyā napharāṃsa amhāsa garaja nāhi tyācā javāba tumhi ca karāvā lāgela heṃ patra jarura jāṇuna lihileṃ aheṃ tyā karitāṃ lihilyā pramāṇeṃ patra pāhilyā kṣaṇi ubhayetāṃsa hi dharuna pāṭavaṇeṃ śrīrāmapratāpa

3. For *karita*.
4. For *pāula*.

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56 sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora jenarāla yeramāna a-
57 pastena gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsi
58 [...]-o1 hijari ji-
59 la- [...] māhe 22 tārikha
60 saṃna 1787 isavi aka-
61 ṭobara māhe 2[5] tārikha ravanā

5. According to the chronological tables the equivalent is 5th October, cf. chapter 2. p. 38, note 1.

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Document no. 24. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
05.10.1787.

ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā
dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora jenarāla
yeramāna apastena gaunara baṃdara ta-
rakaṃbāḍi dāṃ mohabatahu
mohibāna panāhā mokhalisāna dastagāhā aji śaṃkarāji saṃbhā-
ji salāma makasuda uṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna apali ṣādamāni
hameṣā kalami karita aleṃ pāhije digara śeṣācela śeṭice prasaṃgāsa
mestara vāladara saṃsthānāsa ale asatāṃ śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja
sāhebāṃni rubaru ca bahutā prakāreṃ sāṃgitaleṃ hoteṃ va tad anaṃtareṃ
śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebiṃ svārisa nighālyā naṃtareṃ mā-
yora mokāmi tānāsi piḷe va subramhaṇi seṭi ale asatāṃ tevhāṃ
hi śeṣācela śeṭisa yetheṃ pāṭavaṇyā viṣai tākida keli asatāṃ hi
tumhi tyālā na pāṭavitāṃ adyāpi vari hi ḍhile vari ghātalyā
varuna pāhatāṃ tyālā yetheṃ pāṭavāveṃyāceṃ disata nāhi śrimaṃta rā-
jaśri sāhebiṃ sāṃgitalyā kāmāsa dekhila yā prakāreṃ alaśya
karaṇeṃ yukta disata nāhi seṭi majakura pahileṃ tumace kuṃpa-
ṇice kāryāṃta pahileṃ bābāce veḷesa trikaḷācerice prasaṃgāsa
khalala kelā te sarva hi tumhāsa kāḷeṃ[1] ca asela yaise badamāmali-

1. For *kāḷaleṃ*.

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19 ci goṣṭi pramāṇa jāṇuna tyālā asarā deuna na pāṭavitāṃ ṭeuna
20 ghetalyā muḷeṃ rājaśri māhārāja sāhebāṃce cittāsa tumace ṭāiṃ vya-
21 tyāsa vhāvayāsa kāraṇa hoila heṃ niṭa samajuna itaḥpara hi ala-
22 śya karināseṃ śeṣācela seṭisa harakāre māhāladārāṃ samāgameṃ sakhta
23 pāhareṃta ṭeuna pāṭavaṇeṃ
24 yā sivāye pudaceriṃta asaṇāra jaladu sadāsiva seṭi aṭadāhā
25 varuṣā pāsuna tumace asareta asuna vartaka vyāpārā muḷeṃ jiva-
26 na karita asatāṃ pudaceriṃta asaṇāra suṃka śeṣācela śeṭicā nā-
27 tuṃ śeṣācelaṃ mhṇaṇārāneṃ sarakārace sāhukāra trimala rāyāṃci
28 pudaceri vagaire dukānaciṃ tamasukeṃ va kāgadapatreṃ lakṣāvadhiṃciṃ
29 hotiṃ teṃ yekaṃdara pudacerisa kalāpa alyā stava tarakaṃbāḍiṃta jala-
30 ḍu sadāsiva ṭeṭi[2] kaḍeṃ jatana karuna ṭevaṇeṃseṃ pāṭavilyāsa sadāsi-
31 va seṭineṃ kr̥trima karuna tyā kāgadapatrā paiki tarakaṃbāḍicā karja-
32 dāraṃ śeṣācela śeṭiceṃ dastaivaja va drāṃkṣābāla seṭiceṃ dastaivaja he
33 dona hi kāhaḍuna gheuna apaṇā kaḍeṃ dastaivaja aheseṃ śeṣācela
34 seṭisa va drāṃkṣā māpiḷe seṭisa kaḷauna atāṃ cālāvayāce prasaṃ-
35 gāsa apaṇāsa kāhi lāṃcaruṣavata deviliṃyāṃ tumhā ubhayetāṃceṃ
36 dastaivaja detoṃseṃ amace mulukacā adaṃjura apāsāmi mhaṇa-
37 ṇārāce mukhāṃtareṃ javābasvāla kelyāsa śeṣācela śeṭineṃ kiteka
38 paike sadāsiva seṭisa lāṃca kabula karuna ubhayetāṃceṃ dastaivaja
39 kāhaḍuna ghyāveṃseṃ tajavija karuna sadāsiva seṭisa sāṃguna pāṭavi-
40 lyāsa tyāneṃ pudacerita ahe tyā suṃkavārāsa hi kāhi devilyāṃ a-
41 pṇa tyāṃ kaḍeṃ jāuna tyāṃ bodhanā karuna harakaiseṃ hi tumace
ubhayetāṃ-
42 ce dastaivaja tumhāsa yāvayā sārikheṃ karitoṃ mhṇauna sadāsiva seṭi-

2. For *seṭi.*

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18 nyāyāsa cuku naye mhaṇauna vistāreṃ purvotara tumhāsa lihuna
19 pāṭavilyāsa tyā śeṣācela seṭice durmārgapaṇā vari ca dṛṣṭi
20 deuna tyālā na pāṭavitāṃ tumace dubhāṣi dānāsi piḷeni tri-
21 mala rāyāṃce nāveṃ alaśyāci uttareṃ lihilyā varuna alikaḍeṃ
22 tetheṃ jaladu sadāsiva seṭi mhaṇaṇārā kaḍeṃ trimala rāyāṃce va
23 suṃkarāma seṭice dukānace lakṣāvadhiciṃ tamasukeṃ vagaire
24 pudaceriṃta asaṇāra suṃka śeṣācela seṭicā nātu śeṣā-
25 cela mhṇaṇārāneṃ avāṃtarāsa lapauna ṭevile ṭāi tyā sadāsi-
26 va seṭineṃ tarakaṃbāḍice śeṣācela seṭisa yāce drākṣābāla
27 seṭi yāṃceṃ dastayaivaja aheseṃ kaḷavilyāsa tyā sadāsiva se-
28 ṭisa lāṃcaruṣavata kabula karuna pudacerita ahe tyā sukavā-
29 rāce porāsa hi yālā pāṭauna bodhanā karuna apaleṃ dastayaiva-
30 ja drākṣāvāli yāṃceṃ dastayaivaja gheṇe viṣai sadāsiva seṭisa
31 pudacerisa pāṭauna kṛtrima karuna teṃ dastaivaja ghyāveṃseṃ ke-
32 leṃ vartamāna yetheṃ jāhera jāhalyā varuna sadāsiva seṭi trivaṃgā-
33 sa pudacerisa jāveṃ mhṇauna svāra houna ale ṭāiṃ te vartamāna
34 amace lokāṃsa kaḷuna amhi tākida kelyā pramāṇeṃ dharuna
35 aṇāvayāsa gele ṭāiṃ apale kāryasthāṃsa ṭeuna pālakhi vagai-
36 re ṭākuna paluna tarakaṃbāḍisa jāuna pāvalā tyāce kāryasthāṃ-
37 sa pālakhi sahita aṇuna kuṃbhakoṇiṃ kaideṃta ṭevilyā vari tyā-
38 neṃ cāleṃ[2] vartamāna caughe vartakāce rubaru hāstākṣara lihuna dilhā
39 aheṃ te sarva hi amace sarakhela sivarāyāṃce bhāu śaṃkara rāyāṃni
40 bayāṃvāreṃ tumhāsa lihileṃ aseṃ tari teṃ niṭa manāsa aṇuna śe-

2. For *cālileṃ*, cf. document no. 24, note 4, and no. 25, l.48.

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41 ṣācela seṭisa va sadāsiva seṭisa ale harakāre māhāladārāṃ sa-
42 māgameṃ sakhta pāhareṃta ṭeuna hajura pāṭauna deṇeṃ itaḥpara hi
43 yā viṣai ḍhila karāla tari yukta navheṃ tumhi vartaka amace chā-
44 yeṃta bahuta hi vasā pāsuna nyāyemārgeṃ kaḍuna aje pāvetoṃ varta-
45 ṇuka rita[3] alāṃ itaḥpara [...] hi taisi ca vartaṇuka karālaseṃ daraguja-
46 ra kelyāsa tyā durmārga lokāṃsa yaise kṛtrima karaṇārāṃsa tyāṃni
47 tumace kuṃpaṇice kāmāṃta hi pahileṃ trikaḷāceri vagaire kā-
48 ryāṃta tumhāsa vaṃcanā kelā vicāra hi kaḷalā asuna tyāṃci ta-
49 raphena karita asāṃ tari phāra utama jāhaleṃ atāṃ hi dekhata patra
50 haradoṃ seṭisa dharuna hajura pāṭavaṇeṃ yekhādeṃ na pāṭavāla tari
51 haradoṃ śeṭyā varila tagādyāsa tumhi ca bādhya vhāveṃ lāgela
52 athavā tethuna yeka pāuna[4] palikaḍeṃ gelyāṃ hi tyā napharāṃsa amhā-
53 sa garaja nāhi tyācā javāba tumhi ca karāvā lāgela heṃ patra jaru-
54 ra jāṇuna lihileṃ aheṃ tyā karitāṃ lihilyā pramāṇeṃ patra pāhi-
55 lyā kṣaṇi ubhayetāṃsa hi dharuna pāṭavaṇeṃ śrīrāmapratāpa

3. For *karita*.
4. For *pāula*.

अखपतखस्तगाथखनअफरस्तेठीसर्फोमयोरवेनररस्ठवेरमनअ
खस्तेनगरिरधंखरतरसंघाउयांणी

56 sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora jenarāla yeramāna a-
57 pastena gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsi
58 [...]-o1 hijari ji-
59 la- [...] māhe 22 tārikha
60 saṃna 1787 isavi aka-
61 ṭobara māhe 2[5] tārikha ravanā

5. According to the chronological tables the equivalent is 5th October, cf. chapter 2. p. 38, note 1.

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Document no. 24.

J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
05.10.1787.

ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā
dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora jenarāla
yeramāna apastena gaunara baṃdara ta-
rakaṃbāḍi dāṃ mohabatahu
mohibāna panāhā mokhalisāna dastagāhā aji śaṃkarāji saṃbhā-
ji salāma makasuda uṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna apali ṣādamāni
hameṣā kalami karita aleṃ pāhije digara śeṣācela śeṭice prasaṃgāsa
mestara vāladara saṃsthānāsa ale asatāṃ śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja
sāhebāṃni rubaru ca bahutā prakāreṃ sāṃgitaleṃ hoteṃ va tad anaṃtareṃ
śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebiṃ svārisa nighālyā naṃtareṃ mā-
yora mokāmi tānāsi piḷe va subramhaṇi seṭi ale asatāṃ tevhāṃ
hi śeṣācela śeṭisa yetheṃ pāṭavaṇyā viṣai tākida keli asatāṃ hi
tumhi tyālā na pāṭavitāṃ adyāpi vari hi ḍhile vari ghātalyā
varuna pāhatāṃ tyālā yetheṃ pāṭavāveṃyāceṃ disata nāhi śrimaṃta rā-
jaśri sāhebiṃ sāṃgitalyā kāmāsa dekhila yā prakāreṃ alaśya
karaṇeṃ yukta disata nāhi seṭi majakura pahileṃ tumace kuṃpa-
ṇice kāryāṃta pahileṃ bābāce veḷesa trikaḷācerice prasaṃgāsa
khalala kelā te sarva hi tumhāsa kāḷeṃ[1] ca asela yaise badamāmali-

1. For *kāḷaleṃ*.

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19 ci goṣṭi pramāṇa jāṇuna tyālā asarā deuna na pāṭavitāṃ ṭeuna
20 ghetalyā muḷeṃ rājaśri māhārāja sāhebāṃce cittāsa tumace ṭāiṃ vya-
21 tyāsa vhāvayāsa kāraṇa hoila heṃ niṭa samajuna itaḥpara hi ala-
22 śya karināseṃ śeṣācela seṭisa harakāre māhāladārāṃ samāgameṃ sakhta
23 pāhareṃta ṭeuna pāṭavaṇeṃ
24 yā sivāye pudacerimta asaṇāra jaladu sadāsiva seṭi aṭadāhā
25 varuṣā pāsuna tumace asareta asuna vartaka vyāpārā muḷeṃ jiva-
26 na karita asatāṃ pudacerimta asaṇāra suṃka śeṣācela śeṭicā ṇā-
27 tuṃ śeṣācelaṃ mhṇaṇārāneṃ sarakārace sāhukāra trimala rāyāṃci
28 pudaceri vagaire dukānaciṃ tamasukeṃ va kāgadapatreṃ lakṣāvadhiṃciṃ
29 hotiṃ teṃ yekaṃdara pudacerisa kalāpa alyā stava tarakaṃbāḍiṃta jala-
30 ḍu sadāsiva ṭeṭi[2] kaḍeṃ jatana karuna ṭevaṇeṃseṃ pāṭavilyāsa sadāsi-
31 va seṭineṃ kṛtrima karuna tyā kāgadapatrā paiki tarakaṃbāḍicā karja-
32 dāraṃ śeṣācela śeṭiceṃ dastaivaja va drāṃkṣābāla seṭiceṃ dastaivaja he
33 dona hi kāhaḍuna gheuna apaṇā kaḍeṃ dastaivaja aheseṃ śeṣācela
34 seṭisa va drāṃkṣā māpiḷe seṭisa kaḷauna atāṃ cālāvayāce prasaṃ-
35 gāsa apaṇāsa kāhi lāṃcaruṣavata devilimyāṃ tumhā ubhayetāṃceṃ
36 dastaivaja detoṃseṃ amace mulukacā adaṃjura apāsāmi mhaṇa-
37 ṇārāce mukhāṃtareṃ javābasvāla kelyāsa śeṣācela śeṭineṃ kiteka
38 paike sadāsiva seṭisa lāṃca kabula karuna ubhayetāṃceṃ dastaivaja
39 kāhaḍuna ghyāveṃseṃ tajavija karuna sadāsiva seṭisa sāṃguna pāṭavi-
40 lyāsa tyāneṃ pudacerita ahe tyā suṃkavārāsa hi kāhi devilyāṃ a-
41 pṇa tyāṃ kaḍeṃ jāuna tyāṃ bodhanā karuna harakaiseṃ hi tumace
ubhayetāṃ-
42 ce dastaivaja tumhāsa yāvayā sārikheṃ karitoṃ mhṇauna sadāsiva seṭi-

2. For *seṭi*.

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43 neṃ sāṃgitaleṃ vartamāna trimala rāyāṃsa bayāṃvāreṃ niṭa pudacerihuna
44 suṃka śeṣācela mā kaḍuna va ahaṃjura[3] apāsāmi mhṇaṇārāṃ kaḍu-
45 na alyā varuna trimala rāyāṃni śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebāṃsa
46 va amhāsa kaḷavile tyā varuna sadāsiva seṭi tarakaṃbāḍihuna pudaceri-
47 sa jāṇāra ahe vāṭeṃta tyālā dharuna yetheṃ pāṭavaṇeṃ mhṇauna amace tā-
48 lukece māyora siyālice kamāvisidārāsa tākida keli hoti teṇeṃ
49 pramāṇeṃ sadāsiva seṭi pudacerisa jāṇyāsa prayāṇa houna triṃvaṃgāḍiṃ-
50 ta utarale asatāṃ amace lokāṃni jāuna dharāvayāsa gele ṭāiṃ to paḷu-
51 na gelā tyāci pālakhi va tyāce kāryastha va sāmāna saraṃjāma heṃ sarva hi sāṃ-
52 paḍaleṃ to mātra paḷuna gelā varakaḍa sāmāna sarva hi japhta karuna gheu-
53 na amace kamāvisidārāneṃ kuṃbhakoṇāsa pāṭauna trimala rā-
54 yāṃce svādhina keleṃ sāṃprata to sadāsiva seṭi tarakaṃbāḍiṃta ca ahe
55 tyāce kāryasthāneṃ cāleṃ[4] purvotara sarva hi lihuna dilahā aseṃ tyācā sā-
56 māna sāṃpaḍalyāṃta kiteka sādhakeṃ[5] hi sāṃpaḍali aseṃti atāṃ hi
57 sadāsiva seṭisa va śeṣācela seṭisa ubhayetāṃsa hi sakhta pāhanyāṃ-
58 ta[6] ghāluna sāṃprata amhi pāṭavilyā harakāreṃ māhāladārāṃ samāgeṃ[7] ca
59 ravānā karuna pāṭavaṇeṃ yekhādeṃ tethuna śeṭi majakura yeka pāula pali-
60 kaḍeṃ paḷuna gelyāṃ hi tyācyā tagādyāsa apaṇa ca bādhya vhāveṃ
61 lāgela va māhārāja rājaśri sāhebāṃce citāsa hi phāra ayāsa
62 vāṭatila tyā karitāṃ patra pāhilyā kṣaṇi ubhayetāṃ śeṭyāsa ravanā
63 karaṇeṃ yā viṣai māhārāja rājaśri sāhebiṃ apale nāveṃ patra lihu-
64 na va amace tarapheneṃ apaleṃ nāveṃ hi patra lihiṇeṃseṃ mhṇāle tyā varu-
65 na lihileṃ aseṃ tari lihilyā pramāṇeṃ sighra karaṇeṃ śrimaṃta rājaśri māhā-
66 rāja sāhebāṃce goṣṭisa vyatyāsa yeināseṃ visvāseṃ kaḍuna cālavi-

3. Same as *adaṃjura*, cf. l. 36.
4. For *cālileṃ*, cf. no. 23, l.38 and no. 25, l.48.
5. For *sādhane*, cf. no. 11, l. 14 and no. 25, l. 50.
6. For *pāharyāṃta*.
7. For *samāgameṃ*.

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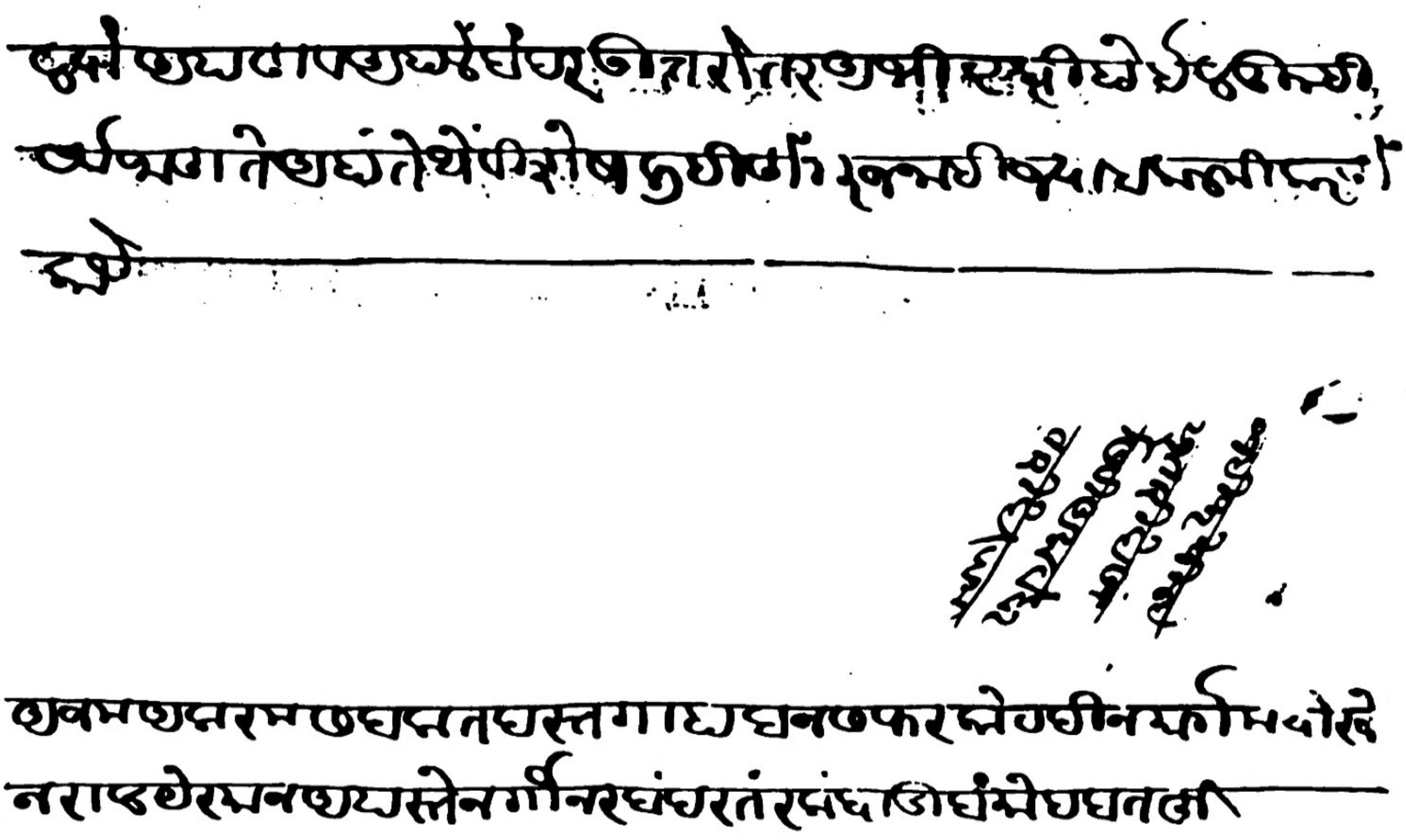

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67 lyāṃ apaṇa va apaleṃ baṃdara uttarotara abhivṛtdhi hoila tumhi
68 sarva jāṇate ahāṃ tetheṃ viśeṣa lihiṇeṃ garaja nāhi jyādā kalami karaṇeṃ
69 kāye
70 ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora je-
71 narāla yeramāna apastena gaunara baṃdara taṃrakaṃbāḍi dāṃ mohabatahu
72 [...]-01 hijari jilahe-
73 [...] 2-[...] tārikha saṃna
74 [...] isavi akaṭaṃbara
75 [...] tārikha ravanā

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Document no. 25. J RA AsK 2183 (d)
00.10.1787.

1 mestara vāladara salama- śaṃkarāji saṃbhāji salāma
2 hulāhutālā
3 mohibāna panāhā mokhalisāna dastagāhā aji yethila khuṣi
4 jāṇuna sāhebiṃ apali khuṣi va ṣādamānici khabara hameṣā kalami keleṃ
5 pāhije digara pahileṃ tumhi saṃsthānāsa aleṃ asatāṃ śeṣācela śeṭice
6 prasaṃgā viṣai śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebāṃni rubaru sarakārace
7 sāhukāra trimala rāyāṃce kāryā viṣai kiteka artha sāṃgitalyāsa amhi
8 baṃdarāsa jāuna pāvatāṃ ca gaunarāṃsa sāguna seṭi majakurāsa yetheṃ pāṭavi-
9 tilaseṃ karitoṃ mhṇālāṃ hotāṃ tad anaṃtareṃ tumacā dubhāṣi subramhṇi se-
10 ṭi va tānāsi piḷe ubhayetāṃ māyora mokāmi ale tyā ubhayetāṃsi seṣā-
11 cela śeṭisa yetheṃ pāṭavaṇyā viṣai śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebiṃ
12 tevhā hi rubaru bahuta kāhi sāṃgitaleṃ hoteṃ tyāsa hi doni tini mahine
13 hota ale adyāpi vari tumhāsa kaḷavile aheta ki adyāpi kaḷavi-
14 le ki athavā nāhi kiṃ teṃ amhāsa kāhi kaḷata nāhi śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārā- [...]
15 sāhebi sāṃgitalyā kāmāsa yaiseṃ ḍhile vari ghātalyā bare navhem yā kāryā
16 viṣai śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja sāhebiṃ yeka patra lihuna gaunara apaste-
17 na yāṃce nāveṃ pāṭavileṃ aseṃ va amace tarapheneṃ gaunara apastena yāṃce nāveṃ
18 va apale nāveṃ yeka patra lihiṇeṃsi ajñā jāhalyā varuna lihileṃ aseṃ patriṃ
19 lihilyā pramāṇeṃ śeṣācela śeṭisa amhi pāṭavilyā harakāre māhāla-
20 dārāṃ samāgameṃ ca sakhta pāhareṃta ṭeuna ravānā karuna pāṭavaṇeṃ alikaḍeṃ tu-
21 mace baṃdarāṃta pudacericā rāhaṇāra jaladu sadāsiva seṭi mhṇaṇāra a-
22 ṭadāhā varuṣā pāsuna vartaka vyāpāra karita asatāṃ pudaceriṃta rā-
23 hṇāra suṃka śeṣācela seṭicā nātu śeṣācelaṃ mhṇaṇārāṇeṃ
24 apāji nilakaṃta suṃkarāma seṭi yāṃce pudaceri vagaire dukānici
25 kāgadapatreṃ va tamasukeṃ vagaire hoteṃ teṃ pudaceriṃṭa kalāpa jāhalyā sta-

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26 va taraṃbāḍiṃta[1] jaladu sadāsiva seṭi kaḍeṃ śnehemārgeṃ kaḍuna ṭevileṃ hoteṃ tari
27 jaladu sadāsiva seṭineṃ kr̥trima karuna hisobakitoba tamasukeṃ vagaira-
28 ci gāṃṭoḍu ukaluna pāhuna tyāṃta karjavaraṃ[2] śeṣācela śeṭicā dastai-
29 vaja va drāṃkṣābāla śeṭicā dastaivaja he dona hi kāgada hi kāhaḍuna gheuna
30 maja kaḍeṃ tumhā ubhayetāṃceṃ dasṭaivaja aheṃseṃ tyā ubhayetāṃ śeṭyāsa kaḷa-
31 vilyāsa śeṣācela śeṭineṃ durālocanā karuna atā cālāvayāce pra-
32 saṃgā muḷeṃ sadāsiva seṭisa kāhi lāṃcaruṣavata deuna apaleṃ va
33 drāṃkṣābāla seṭiceṃ dastaivaja kāhaḍu ghyāveṃseṃ tajavija karuna drākṣā mā-
34 piḷe seṭi va māyora subhyācā rayeta adajura apāsāmi mhṇa-
35 ṇāra yāce mukhāṃtareṃ javābasvāla kelyāsa sadāsiva śeṭineṃ kabula hou-
36 na apaṇa pudacerisa jāuna suṃka śeṣācela māsa hi bodhuna harakaiseṃ
37 hi tumace dastaivaja detoṃseṃ sāṃguna pudacerisa prayāṇa houna jāvayā-
38 ceṃ vartamāna bayāṃvara yetheṃ amace sāhukāra trimala rāyāṃsa alyā varuna
39 tyāni śrimaṃta rājeśri māhārāja sāhebāṃsa va amhāsa kaḷavilyā va-
40 runa amhi māyora subhyāce kamāvisidārāsa tākida karuna tara-
41 kaṃbāḍihuna pudacerisa jāṇāra sadāsiva seṭisa dharaṇeṃseṃ tākida ke-
42 li hoti teṇeṃ ca pramāṇeṃ sadāsiva seṭi pudacerisa jāveṃ mhṇauna svā-
43 ra houna trivaṃgāḍisa yeuna pāvalā teṃ vartamāna amace māyorace kāmā-
44 visidārāsa kaluna dharāvayāsa gelyā ṭāiṃ sadāsiva seṭi tarakaṃbāḍi-
45 sa paḷuna gelā varakaḍa tyācā kārabhāri va pālakhi va kiteka tyāṃcā sāmāna
46 heṃ sarva hi sāṃpaḍaleṃ te māyorace kamāvisidārāneṃ pāhareṃta ghālu-na kuṃ-
47 bhakoṇāṃta trimala rāyāṃce svādhina keleṃ tyācā kāryastha sāṃpaḍalā
48 tyālā balāuna[3] cālileṃ purvotara nija sāṃga mhṇauna mhṇatāṃ ca tyāneṃ
49 sadāsiva seṭineṃ kelā kr̥trima sarva hi vistāreṃ lihuṃna dilahā va tyācā
50 sāmānāṃta hi kiteka sādhakeṃ[4] sāṃpaḍaliṃ aseṃti sāṃprata śeṣācela
51 seṭi va sadāsiva seṭi ubhayetāṃ hi tarakaṃbāḍiṃta ca aseṃti tari sāṃ-
52 prata sarakāriṃhuna harakāre māhāladāra pāṭavile aheta ki yāṃ samāgeṃ[5] ca ubha-
53 yetāṃ seṭyāsa pāhareta ghāluna pāṭavaṇeṃ rā.māhārāja sāhebiṃ sāṃgi-
54 talyā kāryāsa dekhila adyāpi aḍi paḍalyāṃ kāye mhṇāveṃ atāṃ hi patra pā-
55 hilyā kṣaṇi ubhayetāṃsa hi pāṭavāveṃyācā[6] vistāra sarva hi tumace du-
56 bhāṣi subramhṇi seṭisa amhi vistāreṃ lihileṃ aseṃ tyāṃni apaṇāsa
57 sāṃgātāṃ kaḷuṃ yeila jyādā kalami karaṇeṃ kāye

1. For *taraṃgabāḍiṃta.*
2. For *karjadāraṃ*, cf. no. 24, 1.31-32.
3. For *bolāuna.*
4. For *sādhaneṃ.*, cf. no. 11, l. 14; no. 24, l. 56.
5. For *samāgameṃ*
6. Or *pāṭavaṇeṃyācā.*

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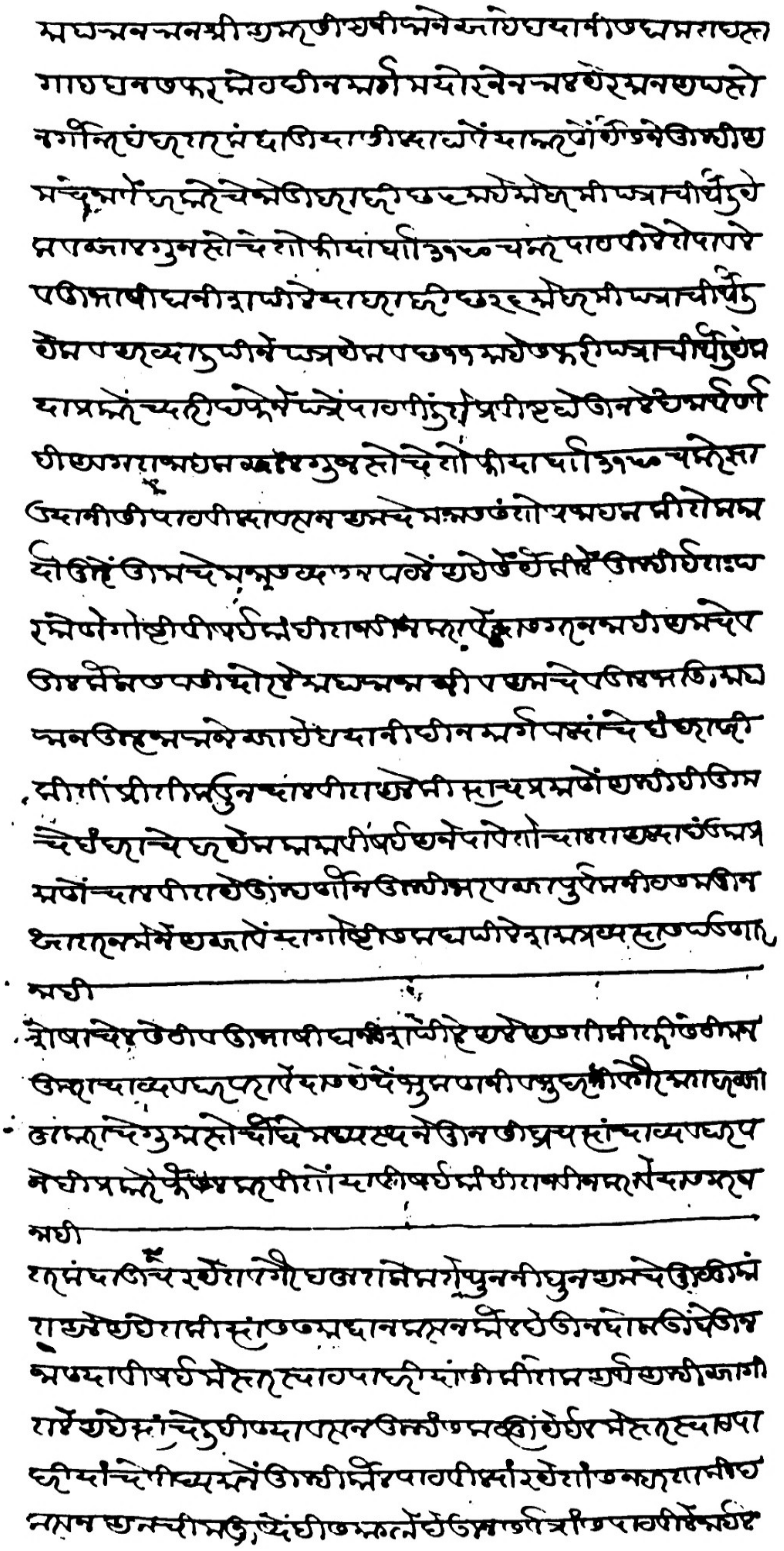

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Document no. 26. J

RA AsK 2183 (d)
10.12.1787.

1 māhārāja rājaśri amarasivhaji rāje sāheba yāni sadākata dasta-
2 gāha dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora jenarāla yeramāna apaste-
3 na gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāsi lyāhāveṃyā kāraṇeṃ yaisaje tumhi a-
4 mace nāveṃ harakārece joḍi barābari cha 5 māhe moharami patrāci
thaili ye-
5 ka va sālagujastece tophiyāṃ bā. 3150 cakare pāṭavile te pāvale
6 va dubhāṣi dāniśa pile yā barābari cha 26 moharami patrāci thaili
7 yeka va aravyā lipine patra yeka va cha 11 māhe saphari patrāci thaili yeka
8 yā prakāreṃ cyāri dapheneṃ patreṃ pāṭaviliṃ te praviṣṭa houna
lekhanārtha sarva
9 hi avagata jāhalā sālagujastece tophiyā bā. 3150 cakare jhā-
10 ḍayā nisi pāṭavilyā varuna amace manāsa saṃtoṣa jāhalā kiteka kā-
11 ryā muḷeṃ tumace manāsa vyasana vāṭaleṃ aheseṃ yaikileṃ tumhi itaḥpa-
12 ra koṇe goṣṭi viṣai kāṃhi tajavija karāveyāsa garaja nāhi amace va-
13 ḍila kailāsavāsi thorale māhārājāni va amace vaḍila bhāu māhā-
14 rāja tuḷajā rāje sāheba yāni dinamārga vālyāṃce baṃdarā vari
15 kitiṃ priti kaḍuna cālavita ale ki tyā ca pramāṇeṃ amhi hi tuma-
16 ce baṃdarāce harayeka kāmā viṣai aje pāveto cālata alyā daṃḍakā pra-
17 māṇeṃ cālavita yeuṃ mhaṇauna tumhi bharavasā purvaka niṭa samajuna
18 khātarajamene asāveṃ yā goṣṭisa kadāpi leśa mātra vyatyāsa paḍaṇāra
19 nāhi
20 śeṣācela seṭi va dubhāṣi dāniśa piḷe ale asati ki tari seṭi maja-
21 kurācā vyavahāra vārāveyāsa yetheṃ bhukaṇaji va bhudaraji vagaire māta-
bara sā-
22 hukārāce gumāste caughe madhyastha nemuna sighra ca tyāṃcā vyavahāra vā-
23 jebi prakāreṃ phaisala karavitoṃ yā viṣai kāṃhi tajavija karāveyāsa garaja
24 nāhi
25 tarakaṃbāḍice rayeta vagaire bahuta loka tethuna nighuna amace mulukāṃ-
26 ta ale aheta ki tyāṃsa samādhāna karuna kaula deuna bolāuṃ gheuna
27 jāṇyā viṣai mestara svāṭa pādari yāṃsi kiteka artha amhi sāgi-
28 tale ahe tyāṃce lihiṇyā varuna tumhāṃsa kaḷuṃ yeila mestara svāṭa pā-
29 dari yāṃce vidyamāneṃ tumhi kaula pāṭavilyāṃ rayetāṃsa jabara tākida
30 karuna amaci manuṣyeṃ hi samāgameṃ deuna sarvatrāṃsa pāṭavileṃ jāila

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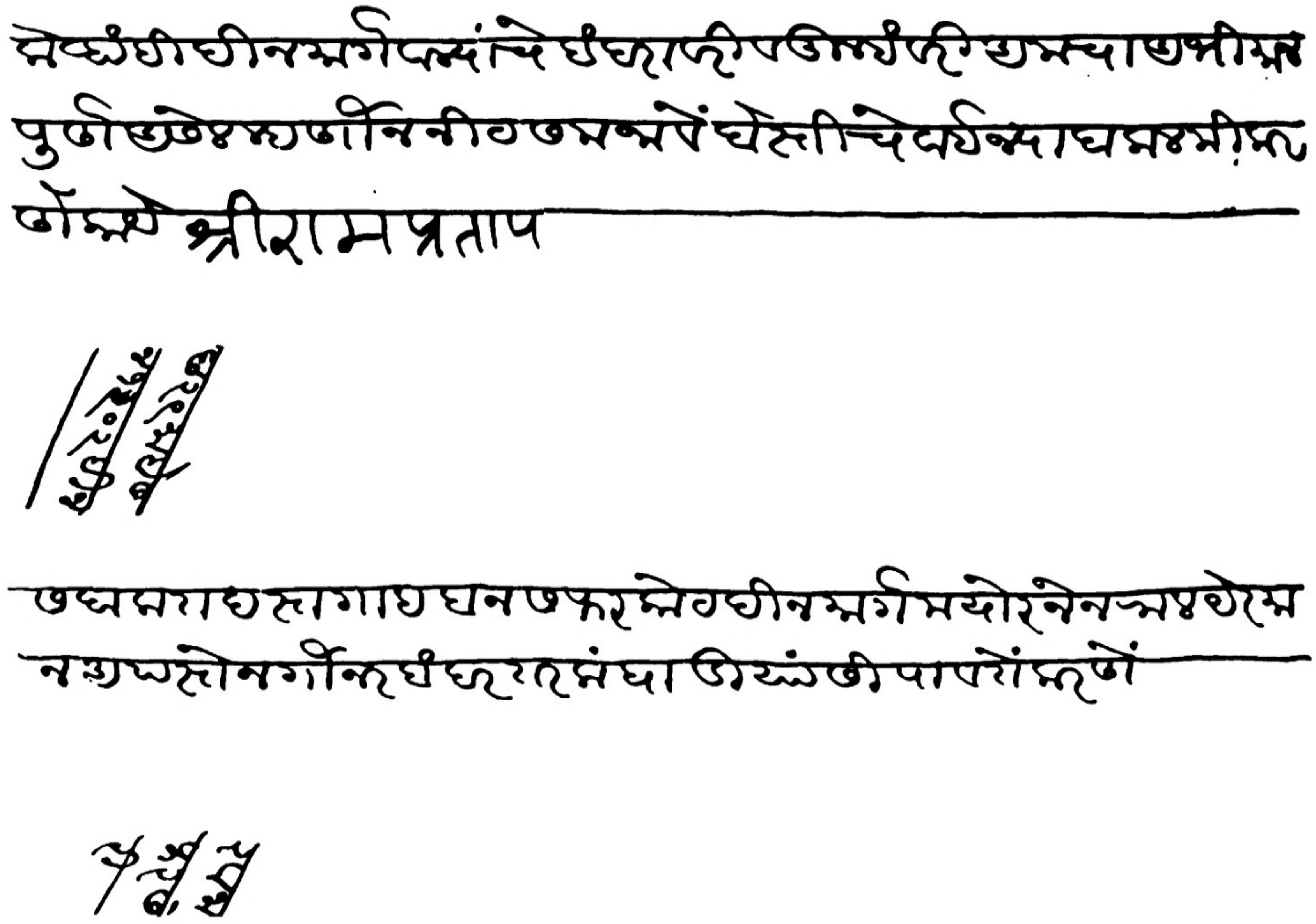

श्रीरामप्रताप

31 kevhāṃ hi dinamārga vālyāṃce baṃdarā vari va tumhăṃ vari amacā abhi-
māna
32 purṇa asela mhaṇauna niṭa samajāveṃ dostice ṭāi jyādā kalami kara-
33 ṇe kāye śrīrāmapratāpa
34 sadākata dastagāha dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga mayora jenarāla yeramā-
35 na apastena gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsi pāvateṃ karaṇeṃ
36 ravānā cha 29 māhe sa-
37 phara saṃna 1202 hija-
38 ri

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Document no. 27. J

RA AsK 2183 (d)
00.12.1787.

mestara svāṭa pādari sāhebāṃsa sivarāyāni phāra phāra salāma digara tarakaṃbāḍice gaunara abastena yāṃce nāve māhārāja sāhebāṃ kaḍuna apaṇa sāgitalyā pramāṇeṃ patra lihuna tayāra karuna mohara hi karuna lākhoṭā thailiṃta ghāluna harakāryā barābari apaṇā kaḍe pāṭavile asa tari dubhāṣi dāniye pilyā kaḍe deuna tarakaṃbāḍisa pāṭavitilase karāveṃ tarakaṃbāḍice rayeta yethuna jāṇyāsa gaunara abastena yāṃ kaḍuna kaula aṇavāve mhaṇauna apaṇāsi sāṃgitale hote ki yā karitāṃ gaunara abastenāsa lihuna kaula aṇavilyāṃ rayeta vagaire jātilase karuṃ ye dostice ṭāi jyādā kalami karaṇeṃ kāye phāra phāra salāma mestara svāṭa pādari sahebāṃsa pāvate karaṇeṃ

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Document no. 28. J

RA AsK 2183 (d)
24.12.1787.

1 māhārāja rājaśri amarasivhaji rāje yāni sadākata dastagāha mayora
2 jenarāla yeramāna abastena gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāsi lyāhāveyā
3 kāraṇa yaisaje tumace rayeta sarvatra amace mulukāṃta yeuna rāhile
4 aheta ki te sarvatra hi bharavesene tumhā̃ṃ kaḍe yāveyā jogeṃ tyāṃce
nāve me-
5 stara svāṭa pādari yāṃce vidyamāne tumace mohare nisi kaula pāṭavilyā
6 varuna sadarahu kaula manāsa aṇuna amhi saṃmata jāhaloṃ tumhi lihilyā
7 kaulā pramāṇeṃ rayetāṃni kāye gunāha kele asaliyāṃ hi māpha karuna
rayetāṃ-
8 sa nyāyenitine cālavāveyā nimitya mestara svāṭa pādari yāṃsa madhya-
9 stha ṭevile ahe te ca apaṇā kaḍe yetāti va amace harakāre hi samāgame
10 yetāti tari rayetāṃni sāgāveyācā matalaba hi tumhi niṭa yaikuna
11 tyaṃce manāsa saṃtoṣa hoijese vājebi prakāreṃ cālavāla mhaṇauna amhā̃ṃ-
12 sa niṭa bharavasā ahe yekhāde mestara svāṭa pādari yāṃsa kāṃhi kārya a-
13 suna sighra yethe phiruna yāveyāci tajavija karitila tari apale
14 sahodara hotsāte jyonasa mhaṇaṇārāṃsa tetheṃ ṭeuna alyāṃ hi amhā̃ṃsa
15 saṃmata ca ahe kevhāṃ hi dinamārga vālyāce baṃdarā vari v̇a tumhā vari hi
16 amacā abhimāna purṇa aselase tumhi niṭa samajuna khātarajamene
17 asāve dostice ṭai jyādā kalami karaṇe kāye śrīrāmapratāpa

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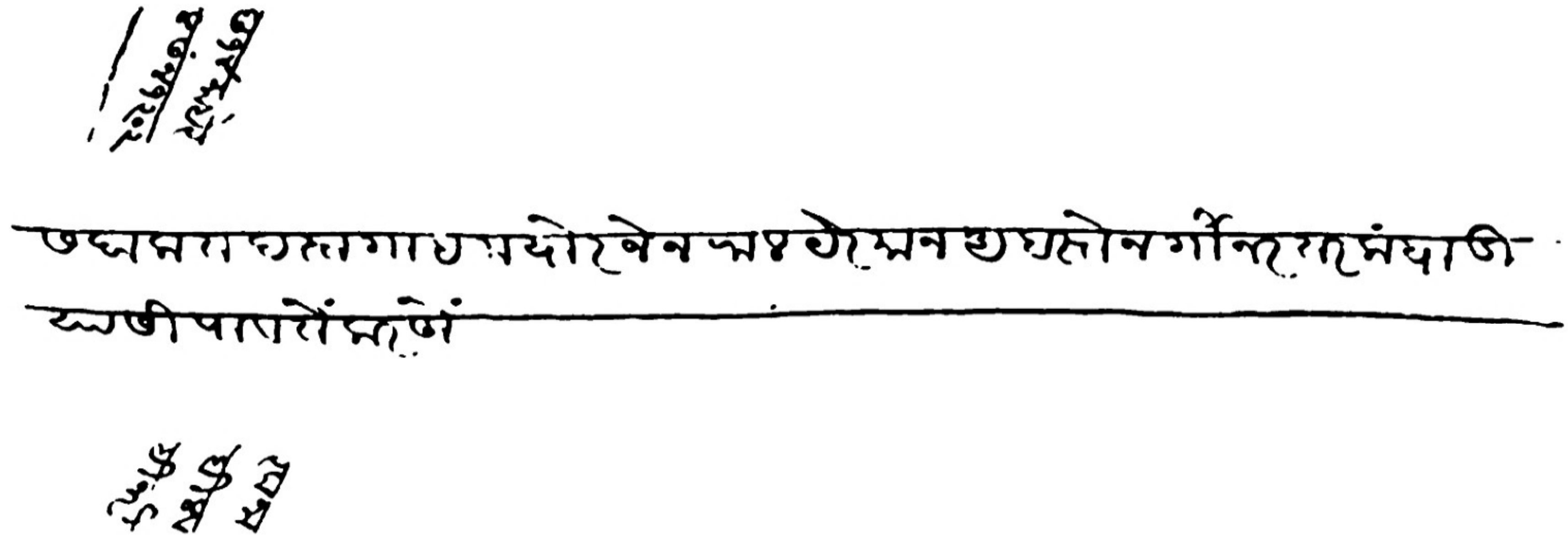

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18 sadākata dastagāha mayora jenarāla yeramāna abastena gaunara tarakaṃbāḍi
19 yāsi pāvateṃ karaṇeṃ
20 ravānā cha 14 māhe ra-
21 bilavala saṃna 1202
22 hijari

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श्री

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Document no. 29.

RA AsK 2183 (d)
06.05.1788.

śrī

rājeśri goraṃnadora dinamāraga baṃdaṃra taraṃkaṃbāḍi gosāvi yāsi i akhaṃḍita lakṣmi alakr̥ta rājamānya śne.mādhava rāva nārāyeṇa pradhāna kr̥tāneka rāma rāma upari yethila kuśela tāṃ.vaiśākha sutdha 1 pāveto yathāsthita jāṇona tumhā kaḍila va tumace bādaśāhaṃ kaḍi[1] vartamāna vāraṃvāra lihita jāve viśeṣa tumace guṇānuvāda va koṇāsa hi nirupadrava va haidara ālice kalāpi caṃdāvarace saṃsthānika devabramhaṇāce sarvakṣaṇa phāra prakāra kele he vartamāna musā nārana va musā motina vakila ni. pulacera yāni hujura vidita kele tyā varuna parama haraṣa jāhalo tyā stava rā. rāmacaṃdra rāva nāgeśa yāsa vakilasa pāṭavile kāraṇa pestara phate āli vari svāri hoṇāra tyāsi tumhāsi kumakecā yekhalāsa nasāvā caṃdāvarace saṃsthānikāsi hara koṇe goṣṭisa mustaida miḷuna āsāve va tumace bādaśāha yāsi va āmhāsi niraṃtara śneha āsāvā paścama samudri mubaisa dakṣaṇa bhāgi revadaṃḍā vagaire yethe koṭi- [...]-[...] pāhije tara karuna devāvi gharobyāce ritine āda-

1. For kaḍila

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20 ra prati ādara parasphare hota jāvā yaisa kiteka goṣṭice
21 bālaṇe[2] rāva ma. ra. yāṃce sāgaṇe varuna samajala sārāṃṣa tu-
22 macā āmacā gharoba āsāvā sarakāraci svāri dasarā
23 jāhaliyā vara karṇāṭakāta yeṇāra tyā samai tumhasa muḷi-
24 ka[3] thoḍakā āhe ādhikotara sādhuna dilā jāila viś- [...]
25 kāye lihiṇe lobha kije su. samāna samānaina mayā ā-
26 lapha ravānā cha 30 rajaba jāṇije lekhana
27 sīmā
28 akhaṃḍita lakṣmi alaṃkṛta rājamānya
29 rājeśri dinamāraga goraṃnadora [...]-
30 daṃra tarakaṃbāḍi gosāvi [... ṃṣ ...]
31 śrī
32 rājā śāhu
33 narapatī haraṣanī-
34 dhāna mādhava rāva
35 nārāyaṇa mukhya
36 pradhāna[4]

2. For *bolaṇe*.
3. For *muluka*, cf. no. 33, 1.8 and 14 having *-ḷi* for *-ḷu*.
4. The *-na* is reversed.

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मघरमराक्नीखमरजीक्मीरावेयांनींजघयतघसगाघघन
जफरमेवजीनफ्रीघीनरखंगरगीनरतरमंघाजियांजीमघ
वयामरजीहैजेवेजाम्हीचेमघवणाजमजीनरजीरमीतेंम
उनितरमंघाजिजहेजीनघधेवमघमघ्यान्चेंयतेमनहेजमनख
मन्चेमनजघतातजुषीघजवमघजजाम्येघंहरातानयी
द्यापाखीनखम्येजंस्थान्जपवेयमचेतघेतघेतेतेंजमघज
यीजनीमेंचलखेरुआंप्रतखम्घजजेद्यान्चीवकरीघतात
खघेंयापरीतांखम्चेजरथेपखीयरमजंमायीयांजजाम्घम
उपांजयीपेंखघेंयांघीनेजांगतीपजतेंहैजमनखमन्चेचीता
जीक्षारहेमहधिघेनफुजजलरेनेंमगेपरुनहेजीनपाक्षी
द्यांखमचेमनजघतातजंतोषघेपेपजाम्हीयापीषखेदी
पनमरीतांहेमक्समघेनजीघेगमीदरुनहेजीनपाहपीद्यां
खम्हीमधीहीपीजरजारन्हीजाम्हीमेघंजीखम्चेजं
स्यान्चेथहेरध्याघजमघध्यापरीतांखम्हीजुजीद्यापमम
पोंमराजबम्छजीननिम्यहेंमजुनजमवतींहेनदीकुंजीम
चेजीनमगेघंजरापरीखमचाचमयपखमीमनजुजीच्छे

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Document no. 30. J

RA AsK 2183 (d)
07.09.1788.

māhārāja rājaśri amarasiṃvhaji rāje yāṃni sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga pitara aṃgara gaunara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsi lyāhāvayā kāraṇeṃ yaiseṃje tumhi cenāpaṭaṇāsa jāuna surakṣiteṃ kaḍuna tarakaṃbāḍisa yeuna dākhala jāhalyāceṃ vartamāna yaikuna amace manāsa bahuta khuṣi hāsala jāhali tumace baṃdarāhuna pahilyā pāsuna amace saṃsthānāsa karjavāma deta gheta hote teṃ tumhāsa hi ṭāukeṃ ca asela sāṃprata amhāsa paikyāci jaruri bahuta ahe tyā karitāṃ amace sarakhela sivarāva saṃbhāji yāṃsa tumhā kaḍeṃ pāṭavileṃ aheṃ tyāṃ hi je sāmgatila teṃ yaikuna amace cittānusāra yeka lākha hona phuli satvareneṃ mārga karuna deuna pāṭavilyāṃ amace manāsa bahuta saṃtoṣa hoila tumhi yā viṣai ḍhila na karitāṃ yeka lakṣa hona hi begami karuna deuna pāṭavilyāṃ amhi kadhi hi visaraṇāra nāhi tumhi kevhāṃ hi amace saṃsthānace khayerakhvāhā jāhalyā karitāṃ amhi lihilyā pramāṇeṃ karāla ca mhaṇauna niścayeṃ kaḍuna samajatoṃ yen muḷeṃ tumace dinamārga baṃdarā vari amacā pakṣa va abhimāna purṇa ase-

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible] श्रीरामप्रताप

[illegible]

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17 la mhaṇauna tumhi hiṃ niścayeṃ kaḍuna samajāveṃ tumhā kāraṇeṃ
18 mahatābi vastrācā dusta va padaka va yeka ghoḍā yā prakāreṃ pāṭa-
19 vileṃ aheṃ tari daṃḍakā pramāṇeṃ maryāde nisi gheuna amace ma-
20 nāsa saṃtoṣa hoilaseṃ karaṇeṃ varakaḍa vartamāna sarva hi sivarāva
21 saṃbhāji kaḷavi-[...]-la tyā pramāṇeṃ karāveṃ dostice ṭāiṃ jyādā kala-
22 mi karaṇeṃ kāye śrīrāmapratāpa
23 sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga pitara aṃgara gaunara tara-
24 kaṃbāḍi yāṃsi
25 ravānā cha 6 jilaheja saṃ-
26 na 1202 hijari

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Document no. 31. J

RA AsK 2186 (a) 2
22.09.1788.

1 rājaśri māhārāja amarasivhaji rāje yāni sadākata dastagāha
2 dānasaphara koṭha dinamārga pitara aṃgara gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi
3 yāsi lyāhāveyā kāraṇeṃ yaisaje digara tumhāṃ kaḍuna yeka lākha ho-
4 na karja ghyāveyā nimitya amace sarakhela sivarāyāṃsa pāṭavi-
5 lyāsa tumhi phuli sāṭi hajāra hona dyāveyāsa kabula houna
6 rāyāṃsa hi niropa deuna pāṭavilyā varuna surakṣita kaḍuna
7 kāle rātri yeuna pāuna tumhi amhāsa hajara yeka joḍi pi-
8 stola va turakasthāna bādaṣāhāsa hirā saṃduka sahita takhta[1]
9 yeka va sakhalādāce tāke doni va sālagujastece peṣakaṣi ba.
10 yaivajāsa phuli yeka hajāra tini sehe paṃdharā hona he sarva hi amhāsa
11 gujarātuna tumacā manobhāva je ahe te sarva hi sivarāyāṅi
12 jāhera kelyā varuna amace manāsa bahuta saṃtoṣa vāṭuna tuma-
13 ce citānusāra trivaḍakali māghāṇa yā sālā pāsuna bārā
14 varuṣāsa dyāveyāsa kabula jāhaloṃ va aṇikhi kiteka kāryā-
15 sa javabasvāla karāveṃyā nimitya amace kāryastha rahamata khāna
16 yāsa jarurine tumhaṃ kaḍe pāṭavileṃ ase tari amacā manobhāva
17 sarva hi khāna majakura tumhaṃsa niṭa jāhera karitila te yaikuna
18 amace citānusāra barābari yeka lākha hona karja dyāveṃyā-
19 sa kabula houna yā paiki yaisi hajāra hona cenāpaṭaṇāṃta pā-
20 velasi huḍi ciṭi deuna bāki visa hajāra hona hi nagada ca
21 pāṭavilyāṃ amace manāsa bahuta khuṣi hāsala hoila tumhi a-
22 mace khayerakhvāhā jāhalyā karitāṃ tumhi amace citānusā-
23 ra saṃtoṣa hoilase ca karāla mhaṇauna amhaṃsa niṭa bharavasā
24 ahe tumhi karja dyāveṃyāce lākha honāsa hi trikaṭura uḷa mā-
25 ghāṇa va trikalāceri māghāṇa va aṇikhi kiteka gāveṃ dekhi-
26 la sālāsa bārā hajāra hona vyājāsa vasula hoilaseṃ bārā varu-

1. Or *stola va turakasthāna bādaṣāhā sahita saṃduka sahita takhta.*

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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ṣāsa tumhaṃsa detoṃ yāṃta saṃdeha mānāveṃyāsa garaja nāhi khāna majakura je bolatila te amace hukume pramāṇeṃ bolatātiseṃ samajuna yeke divasāṃta kārya varuna deuna tānāci piḷesa va khāna majakurā satvarene ravānā karuna pāṭavaṇeṃ dostice ṭāi jyādā kalami karaṇeṃ kāye śrīrāmapratāpa sadākata dastagāha dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga pitara aṃgara gaunara baṃdara tarakaṃbāḍi yāṃsi pāvate karaṇeṃ ravānā cha 21 māhe jilaheja rātri sāta ghaṃṭesa saṃna 1788 isavi sepaṭaṃbara māhe 22 tārikha

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मजरत

छकमछरसेछघमतघस्तगा
छदनछफरमेठघीनमगेथी
नरगरगीनरतरसंघाछिघंमे
घघतल

(०१५)

मेघीघानयनघमेधिजआवछस्तगाघ छवीछीवराछंमारी
पंछितछममनमछिजोंसीछेथीछछिषीमछुनछुदधिछेरीछेतछमे
षामछमेमिसलछीछछरामनेमपाघीषेघीगरछयगामछुन छजमंछे
मघींमेनछव्योपसलछमचेमनछमघोंछंतोषमघीघेतःघरछेछे
नमरीतांछयगामछिछछंतोषछमचारपीचेपरीजघीतछआपे
आपछगुवस्तघेघीचेतीर्छेनआमछ:
तीवयाघाघती २८००८ छछचघमरचमरेछरमराछछेछोंछछेनीया
मरीतांश्रीमंतची आघेघांनीघरमछेमछरछीघछेमपछछम
मरछोंमघताघीछस्तछेमपछी छेमछीतामसरछोंछेमछीस्तपछय
छेमपेछरमरचेंयनयापमरेंछघीघरमन्याचेमेछघराघरीपारपीछें
छघेंतीछंछमिसमछोंमयोगेनीछीपस्तेंछनघेजिरछीघछीपछेमनि
नयेजिन २८००८ घेनीघमरपांचछेघेचमछेंचंरछघीनेंघेरआपछराें

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Document no. 32. J

RA AsK 2186 (a) 2
03.09.1791.

1 māhārāja
2 ajama akarama sadākata dastagā-
3 hā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārga pi-
4 tara aṃgara gaunara tarakaṃbāḍi dāṃ mo-
5 habatahu
6 iṃ
7 mohibāna panāhā mokhalisāna dastagāhā aji sivarāva saṃbhāji
8 paṃḍita salāma makasuda uṃkiṃ yethila khuṣi jāṇuna khuda khayeriyeta hame-
9 ṣā kalami karuna dila arāma kelā pāhije digara apaṇā kaḍuna alikaḍeṃ ye-
10 ka hi patra na alyā varuna amace manāsa kāhiṃ saṃtoṣa nāhi itaḥpara yaiseṃ
11 na karitāṃ apaṇā kaḍila saṃtoṣa samācāra [...]-ce vari lihita asāveṃ
12 sālagujastā ihide tisaina salāsa
13 tophayā bābati 2500,- aḍica hajāra cakare sarakārāsa yeṇeṃ aheṃ kiṃ tyā
14 karitāṃ śrimaṃta rā. sāhebāṃni sadarahu yaivajāsa rasida yeka va apaṇā
15 kāraṇeṃ mahatābi dusta yeka va dusare kapitānā kāraṇeṃ yeka dusta va apa-
16 le nāveṃ sarakāraceṃ patra yā prakāreṃ sarva hi harakāryāce joḍi barābari pāṭavileṃ
17 aheṃ tari daṃḍakā pramāṇeṃ maryāde nisi vastreṃ va patra gheuna rasida hi vile lāu-
18 na gheuna 2500,- doni hajāra pāṃcasehe cakare hiṃ jaladineṃ irasāla karāveṃ

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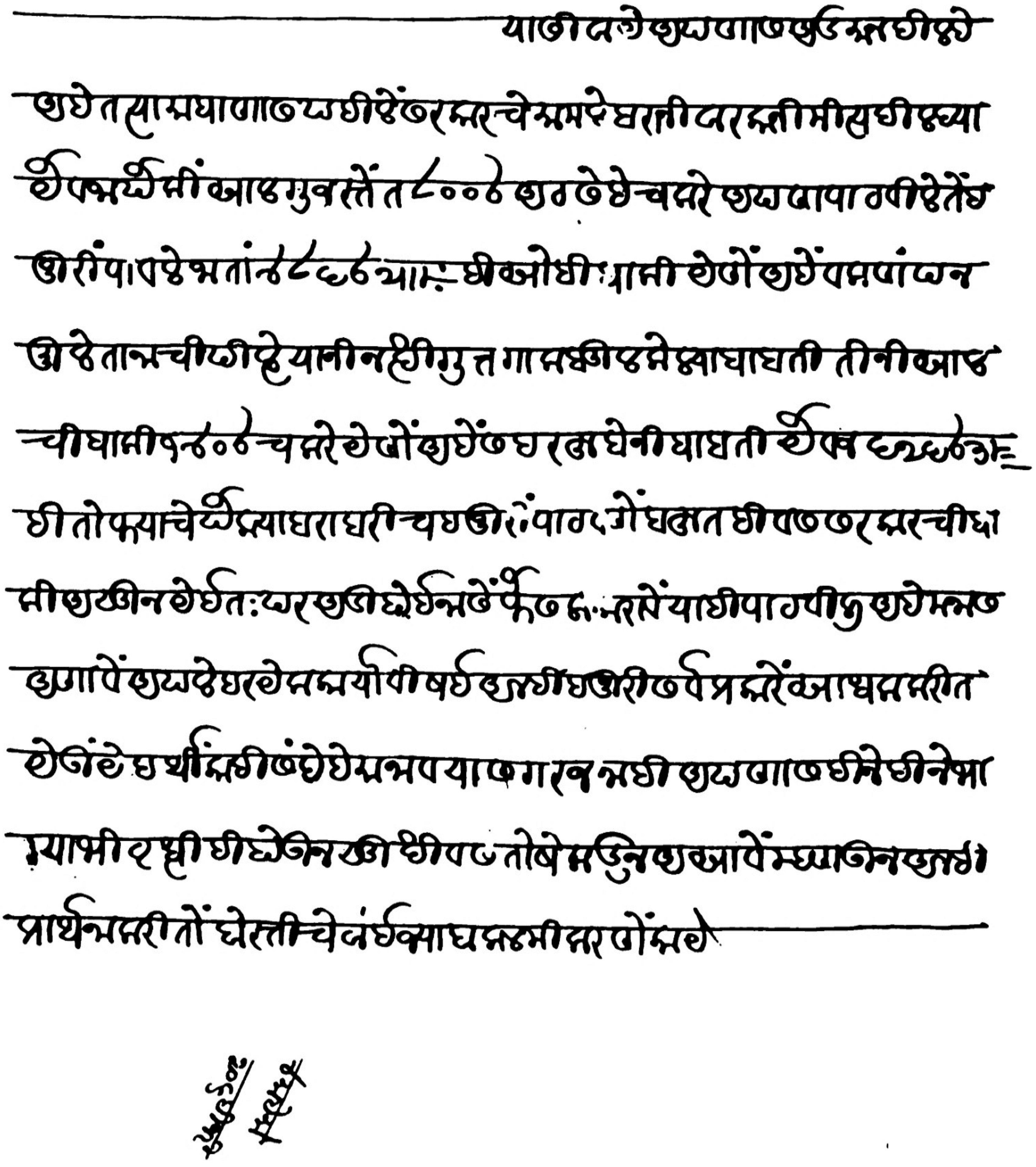

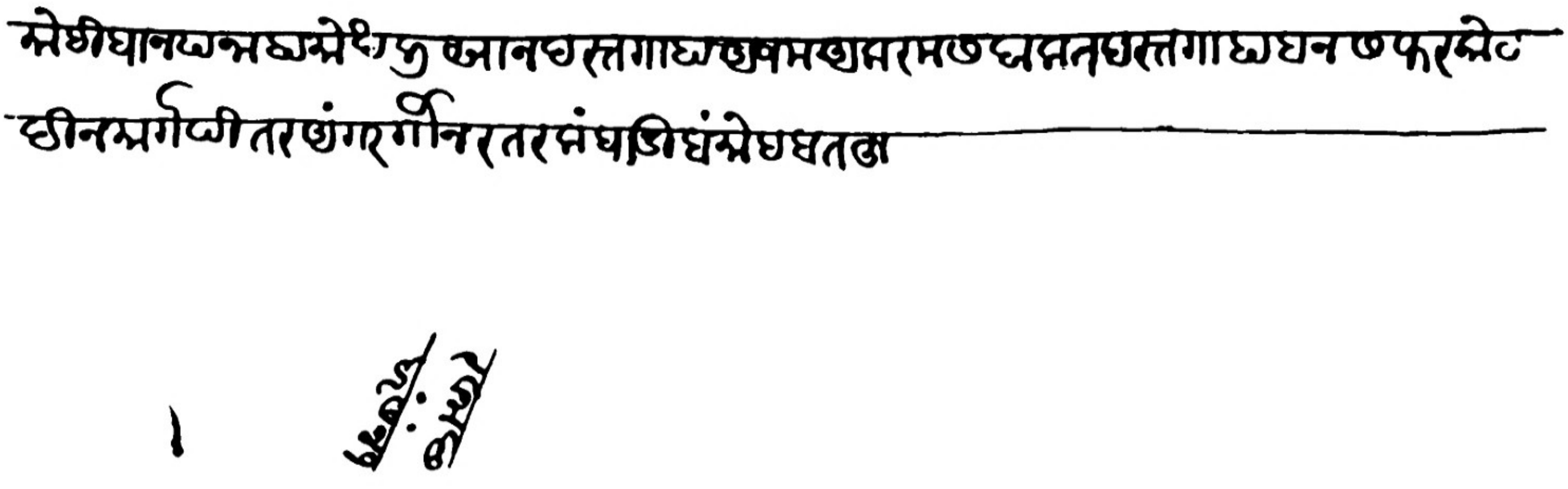

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19 yā sivāye apaṇāsa aḍamāna dilahe
20 aheta tyā māghāṇāsa pahileṃ sarakārace māmaledārāni vārakā nimitya
dilhyā
21 yaivajā paikiṃ sālagujasteṃta 800,- aṭasehe cakare apaṇa pāṭavile teṃ ha-
22 juriṃ pāvale jātāṃ 486 – 2 hisobi bāki yeṇeṃ aheṃ va kaṇaṃpana
23 mule tānāci piḷe yāni nakhti guttagā kabula kelyā bābati tini sāla-
24 ci bāki 140,- cakare yeṇeṃ aheṃ sadarahu doni bābati yaivaja 626 – 3
25 hi tophayāce paikyā barābari ca hajuriṃ pāṭavaṇeṃ bahuta divasa sarakāra-
ci bā-
26 ki asu naye itaḥpara aḍi hoināseṃ phaisalā karāveṃ yādi pāṭavili ahe manāsa
27 aṇāveṃ apale harayeka kāryā viṣai amhi hajuri sarva prakāreṃ sādhaka
karita
28 yeuṃ yedarthiṃ kāhi saṃdehe mānāvayāsa garaja nāhi apaṇāsa dinedine
bhā-
29 gyābhivr̥tdhi hi houna sukhi va saṃtoṣe kaḍuna asāveṃ mhaṇauna amhi
30 prārthanā karitoṃ dostice ṭāiṃ jyādā kalami karaṇeṃ kāye
31 mohibāna panāhā mokhalisāna dastagāhā ajama akarama sadākata dasta-
gāhā dānasaphara koṭa
32 dinamārga pitara aṃgara gaunara tarakaṃbāḍi dāṃ mohabatahu
33 ravanā cha 4 māhe mo-
34 haraṃ saṃna 1206 hijari

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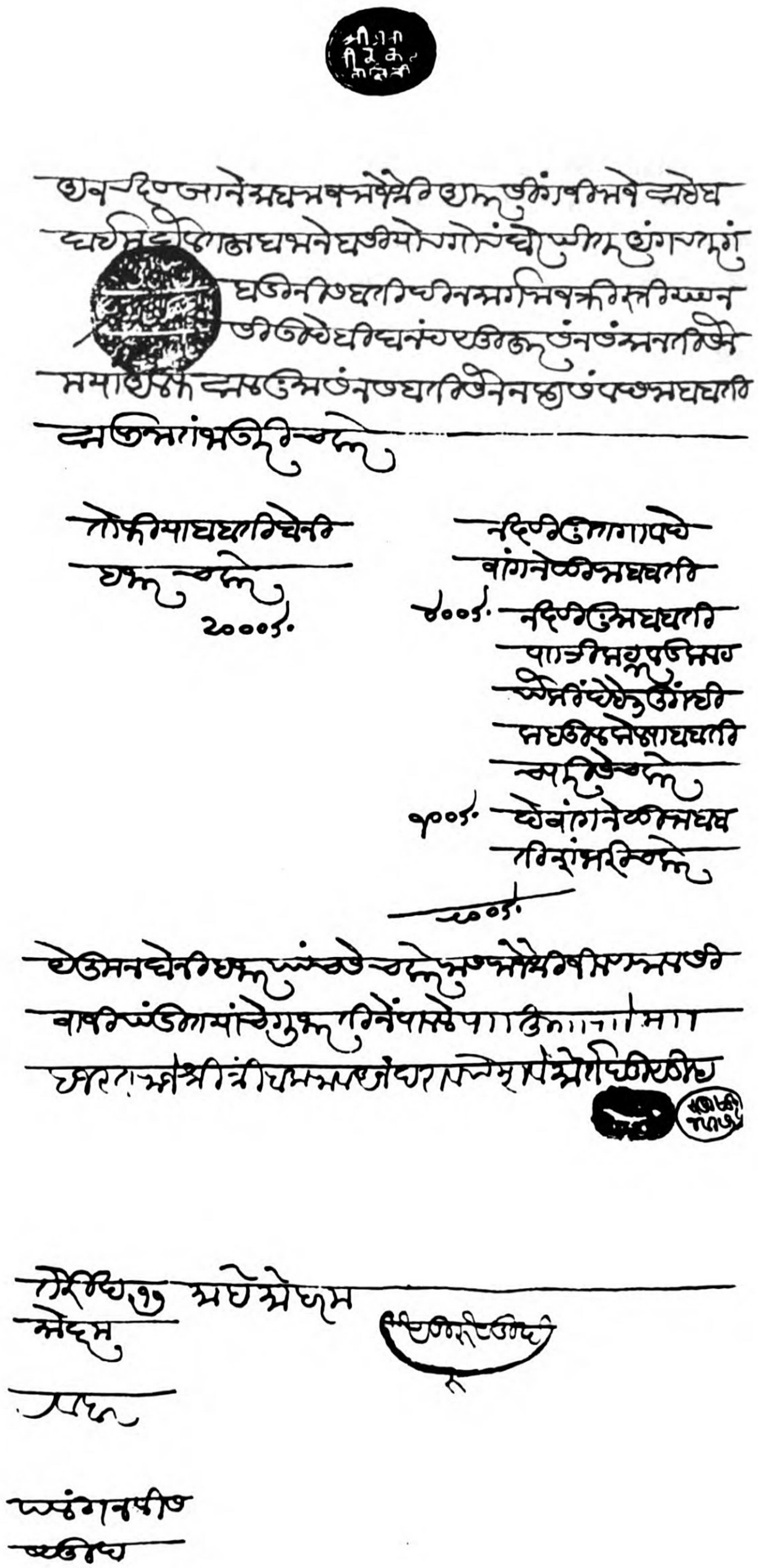

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Document no. 33.

RA AsK 2183 (d)
12.07.1797.

aja rakhtakhāne māhārāja rājeśrie[1] amarasiṃgaji rāje sāheba
dāima daulatahu bajāneba siyora goraṃdora pitara aṃgara taragaṃ-
badi nisabati dinamārga rāja kristiyāna-
si ude bidānaṃda suhura saṃna saṃmāna tisaina
mayā alapha sālagu. saṃna saba tisaina naḷa saṃvacharā babati
sālinā taṃjāuri cakare

tophiyā babati doni		nakhti gutagā va de-
hājāra cakare		vāṃganeḷirā[2] babati
2000,-	400,-	nakhti gu. babati
		pa. trikaṭura vaḍaka vaṭa
		paikiṃ dehe 3 tuṃmhi
		kabula kelyā babati
		cyārise cakare
	100,-	devāṃganeḷirā[2] baba-
		ti śaṃbhari cakare
	500,-	

yekuna doni hajāra pāṃcase cakare rāsa rājeśrie[1] jivaṇa rāva si-
vāji paṃḍita yāṃce gujāratineṃ pāvale pa.hu.ra.ma.
hajarata rājeśri triṃbaka rāva anaṃda rāva peśave mortabu suda

terikha 17 māhe moharama		ruju sura-
moharama	ru suru suda	navisa
ravadāra		
palaṃganavisa		
suda		

1. Cf. no. 6, note 1.
2. Probably for 'devāṃganelurā', cf. no. 29, note 3.

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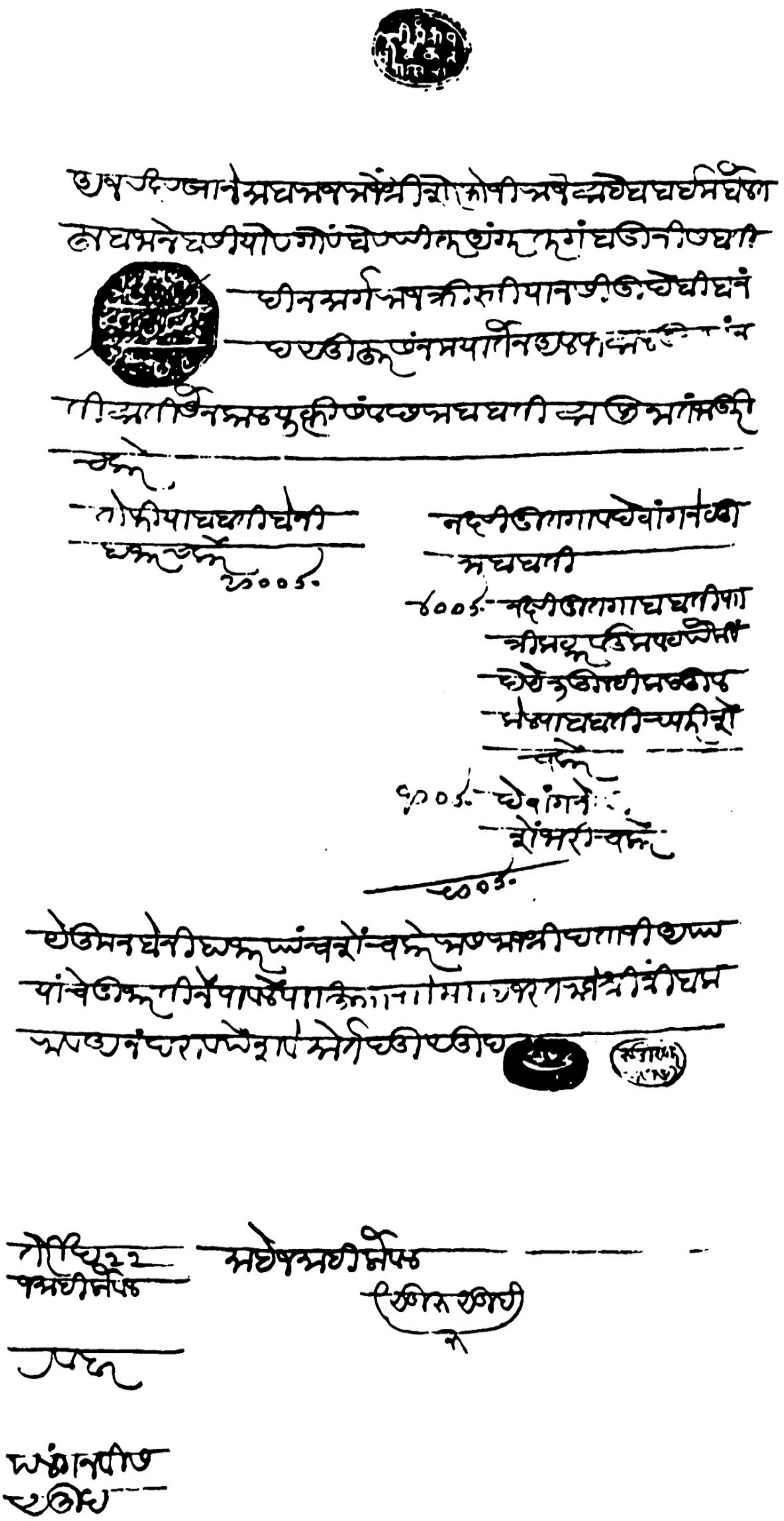

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Document no. 34.

RA AsK 2183 (d)
22.10.1799.

1 aja rakhtakhāne māhārāja rājeśrie[1] śeraphoji rāje sāheba dāima daulata-
2 hu bajāneba siyora goraṃdora pitara aṃgara taragaṃbaḍi nisabati
3 dinamārga rāja kristiyānasi ude bidānaṃ-
4 da suhura saṃna mayātaina alapha sālagu.saṃna
5 tisā tisaina kālayukti saṃvacharā babati sālinā taṃjāuri
6 cakare
7 tophiyā babati doni nakhti gutagā va devāṃganelu-
8 hājāra cakare rā babati
9 2000,- 400,- naṃkhti gutagā babati pa.
10 trikaṭura vaḍaka vaṭa paikiṃ
11 dehe 3 tumhi kabula
12 kelyā babati cyāriśe
13 cakare
14 100,- devāṃgane -[...]
15 śeṃbhari cakare
16 500,-
17 yekuna doni hājāra pāṃcaśeṃ cakare rāsa rājaśri datāji apā
18 yāṃce gujāratine pāvale pa.hu.ra.ma. hajarata rājeśri triṃbaka
19 rāva anaṃda rāva peśave mortabu suda
20 terikha 22 māhe jamādilauvala ruju sura-
21 jamādilauvala ru suru suda navisa
22 ravadāra
23 palaṃganavisa
24 suda

1. Cf. no. 6 and no. 33, note 1.

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Document no. 35. J RA AsK 2183 (b)

26.08.1802.

1 rājeśri māhārāja śeraphoji rāje sāheba yāṃni sadākata dastagāhā dāna-saphara koṭa
2 dinamārka pitara aṃgara jenarāla baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi yāṃsi lyāhāvayāsi kāraṇa yai-
3 seṃje yethila khuṣi jāṇuṃna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāṃni hakikata kalame karita yāveṃ
4 digara sana 1802 isavi agaṣṭha māhe 17 terikhesa dinamārka vālyāṃcā bāuṭha
5 taragaṃbāḍice kilyā vari namuda jhālā teṃ vartamāna śruta jāhalyā varuṃ-na amhāsa phāra
6 saṃtoṣa jāhalā tyā saṃtoṣācā vistāra kiti mhaṇuṃna lyāhāvā
7 istakabile pāsuṃna amace sarakārāsa va tumhāsa hiṃ paraṃpare
8 kaḍuṃna cālata alyā śnehyāsa hāla tumhiṃ iṃgareja sarakārāsiṃ cāṃgalyā ritineṃ
9 śnehe kelyā muḷeṃ tumacyā amacyā śnehyāsa kevaḷa majabuda jāhaleṃ tyā muḷeṃ hiṃ
10 amhāsa phāra saṃtoṣa jāhalā
11 amhāsa jāhalā saṃtoṣa yekaṃdara tumhāsa kaḷaṇe stava lihileṃ te tumhiṃ kaḷuna ghe-
12 uṃna saṃtoṣa pāvāla mhaṇuna jāṇato tumhāsa khilata vagaira pāṭavilyāsa yādāsta pā-
13 ṭavili ahe yādi pra. dākhala pāvaṇa hameṣā tumhiṃ amace sarakārāsiṃ rākhita aṃlāṃ[1]
14 to śnehe vāhaḍavita yeṇa jyādā kalame karaṇa kāye ase
15 terikha 26 māhe agaṣṭha sana 1802 isavi śrīrāmapratāpa

1. The second *anusvāra* could be an ink stain.

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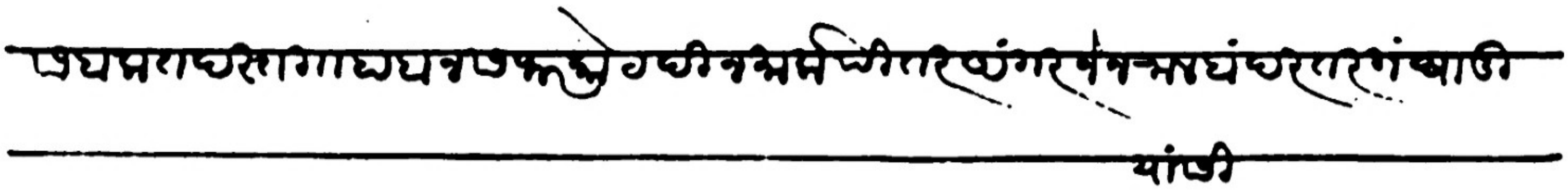

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16 sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārka pitara aṃgara jenarāla bamḍara taragaṃbāḍi

17 yāṃsi

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Document no. 36. J RA AsK 2183 (b)

26.08.1802.

1 māhārāja
2 ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārka
3 pitara aṃgara jenarāla baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāṃma mohabatahu
4 mohibā̆ṃna panāha mokhaliṣāna dastagāhā aji sonaji apā salāṃma aṃki
yethi-
5 la khuṣi jāṇuṃna apali ṣādamāṃni hakikata kalame karita aleṃ pāhije dari-
vilā agaṣṭha māhe 17 tā-
6 rikhesa dinamārka vālyācā bā̆uṭha taragaṃbāḍice kilyā vari kāyema jāhalā
teṃ vartamāna śrimaṃta
7 rājeśri chetrapati sāhebā̆ṃce hajurāsa śruta jāhalyā varuṃna śrimaṃta
rājeśri chetrapati
8 sāhebāṃni mānilā saṃtoṣa lihuṃna purave nā
9 istakabile pāsuṃna paraṃparena ale dinamārka saradāra yekaṃdarāṃni
sarakārāsiṃ cāṃgalyā ritineṃ śnehe
10 rākhita ale teṇa karitāṃ yā 17 terikhe agodhari ta. hujurace citāṃta vāṭalā
jinasa yekaṃdara terikha maja-
11 kurā pāsuṃna utpanna jāhalyā saṃtoṣāneṃ apalyā poṭim sāṃṭauna apaṇa
ca puḍheṃ houṃna rāhilā teṃ
12 tumhāsa kaḷavaṇe stava hajurāṃtuna tumace nāveṃ patra va khilata vagai-
ra gopāla rāyāṃce māriphātenem deuṃna pā-
13 ṭavile aheta tyā varuṃna kaḷuṃ yeila tumhiṃ hameṣā pra. sarakārāsiṃ
rākhilyā śnehyāci abhivr̥̊dhi kari-
14 ta yāveṃ jyādā kalame karaṇa kāye ase
15 terikha 26 māhe agaṣṭha sana 1802 isavi

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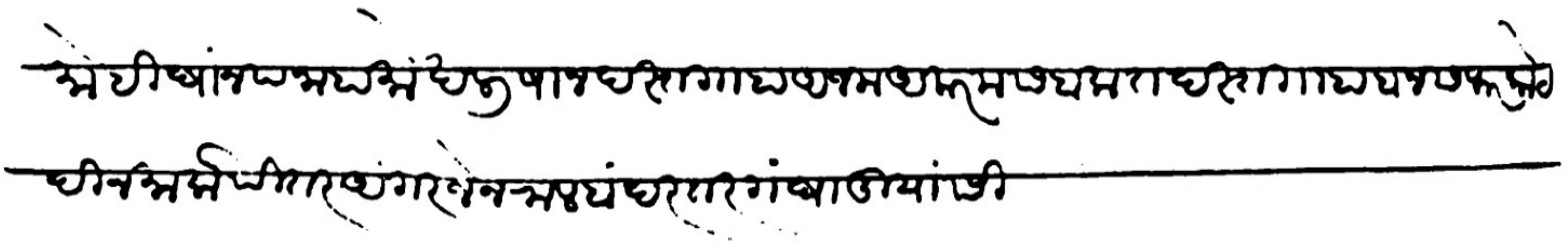

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16 mohibāṃna panāhā mokhaliṣāna dastagāhā ajama akarama sadākata dasta-gāhā dānasaphara koṭa
17 dinamārka pitara aṃgara jenarāla baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi yāṃsi

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Document no. 37. J

RA AsK 2186 (b)
14.08.1804.

1 rājeśri māhārāja śeraphoji rāje sāheba yāṃni sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārka [...]-

2 tara anakara jenarāla baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi yāṃsi lyāhāvayāsi kāraṇa yaisemje yethila khuṣi jāṇuna

3 tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāṃni hakikata kalame karita yeṇa

4 pesaji sarakārace tophā vagairaci bāki yeṇyāsa māgaṇi keli tyāsa yeka sālace tophayāsa mātra

5 apale vilāyetituṃna hukuma aṇauṃna gheuṃna detoṃseṃ sāṃgitalāṃ hotāṃ philahāla tyāsa hiṃ

6 [...] apale vilāyetituṃna hukuma alā ahe mhaṇuṃna tumace vakila virarāghavaṃ yegārāṃ kaḍuṃ-

7 na sarakārace vakila gopāḷa rāyāṃsa lihauṃna amhāsa kaḷavilyā karitāṃ sarakārāsa tophā va-

8 gaira yaivaja yeṇecā

9 1 sana ihide mayātaina raudri saṃvacharā bābata

10 1 sana isane mayātaina durmati saṃvacharā bābata

11 1 sana salāsa mayātaina duṃdubhi saṃvacharā bābata

12 1 sana arbā mayātaina rudhirodgāri saṃvacharā bābata

13 4

14 [...]- lāsa hi tophā vagairacyā [...]-sa [...]-sida vaki-[...]-ḷa [...]-ṃ kaḍeṃ [...]-euṃna pāṭa-

15 vili ahe dākhala pāuṃna sarakārace tophā vagairacā yaivaja darobasta jhāḍiyāṃ nisiṃ sarakārāsa dā-

16 khala karaṇeṃ tumhāsa pāṭavilyā khilatesa yādāsta pāṭavili ahe yādi pra. dākhala pāvaṇa bāje

17 hakikata sarakhela rājeśri dattāji apā yāṃce lihiṇyā varuṃna kaḷuṃ yeila jyādā kalame karaṇa kāye āse

18 terikha 14 māhe āgasṭha sana 1804 isavi śrīrāmapratāpa

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Document no. 38. J

RA AsK 2186 (b)
14.08.1804.

1 ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā danasaphara koṭa dinamārka ma- [...]-ra pitara
2 aṃna- [...]-ra jenarāla baṃdara tara- [...]-bāḍi dāṃma mohabata- [...]
3 [...]-hibāṃna panāhā mokhaliṣāna dastagāhā aji dattāji apā salāṃma aṃki yethila
4 [...]-na tumhā kaḍila sādamāṃni hakikata kalame karita aleṃ pāhije darivilā sarakārace tophayā
5 [...]-ṇi stava pesaji vakila ra. gopāḷa rāyāṃsa pāṭavileṃ tyāsa yeka sālace yaivajāsa mātra
6 [...] hukuṃma aṇauṃna gheuṃna detoṃ mhaṇuṃna sāṃgitalā ho- [..] hukuṃma alā
7 mhaṇuṃna tumace vakila virarāghava yeṃgārāṃ kaḍuṃna sarakārace vakila rā. go- [...] rāyāsa liha- [...]- ḷavilyā kari-
8 tāṃ bākicā yaivaja māgaṇisa rasida deuṃna vakila gopāḷa rāyāṃsa pāṭavileṃ āhe tari sarakārāsa to-
9 [...] yaivaja yeṇa hi tapasila

10 [...] bābata ca. ra		nakhti gutagā tumhi kabula kelyā bābata ca.ra
11 [...]-00,- sana ihide mayātaina raudri saṃvacharā bāba-	1600,-	pathaka- [...] paiki dehe
12 ta doni hajāra cakare	3	
13 2000,- sana isane mayātaina durmati saṃvacharā bā-	400,-	sana ihide mayātaina raudri saṃvacha-
14 bata cakare doni hajāra		rā bābata cakare cyārise
15 [...]- sa mayātaina duṃdubhi saṃvacharā bā-	400,-	sana isane mayātaina durmati saṃvacha-
16 bata cakare doni [...]		rā bābata cakare cyāriseṃ
17 [...]- o,- sana arbā mayātaina rudhirodgāri saṃvacharā	400,-	sa- [...] duṃdubhi saṃvacha-
18 bābata cakare doni hajāra		[...] bābata cakare [...]- seṃ
19 8000,-	400,-	sana arbā mayātaina
20		rudhirodgāri saṃva- charā bābata cakare cyāriseṃ
21		[...]- 600,-
22 400,-		devāṃganalura gutiyā bābata ca.ra
23	100,-	[...] ihide mayātaina raudri [...]-
24		rā bāba- [...] cakare seṃbhari
25	100,-	sana isane mayā- [...] -rmati saṃvacharā

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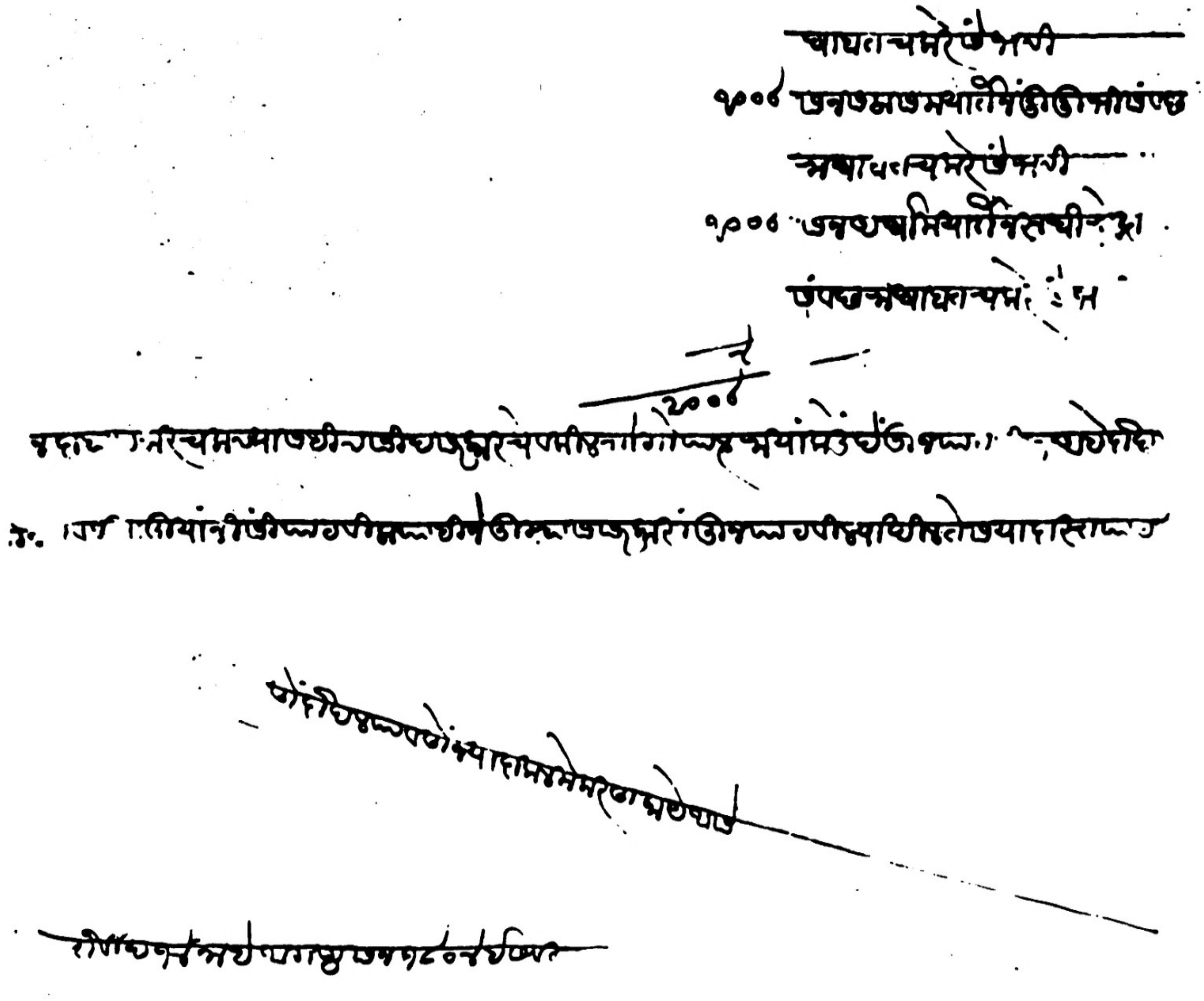

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26			bābata cakare sembhari
27		100,-	sana salāsa mayātaina duṃdubhi saṃvacha-
28			rā bābata cakare seṃbhari
29		100,-	sana arbā mayātaina rudhirodgā- [...]
30			saṃvacharā bābata cakare semb- ha-[...]
31			4- [...]
32	200,-[1]		

33 [...]- una dāhā hajāra cakaryāsa hi rasida sarakārace vakila rā. gopāḷa rāyāṃ kaḍeṃ deuṃna pāṭa- [...] ahe dākha-

34 [...]- ḍiyāṃ nisiṃ pāṭavilā pāhije tumhāsa sarakārāṃtuna pāṭavilyā khilate- sa yādāsta pāṭa-

35 [...]- ṇeṃ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ jyādā kalame karaṇa kāye āse

36 [...]-4 māhe āgasṭha sana 1804 isavi

1. For '2000,-'.

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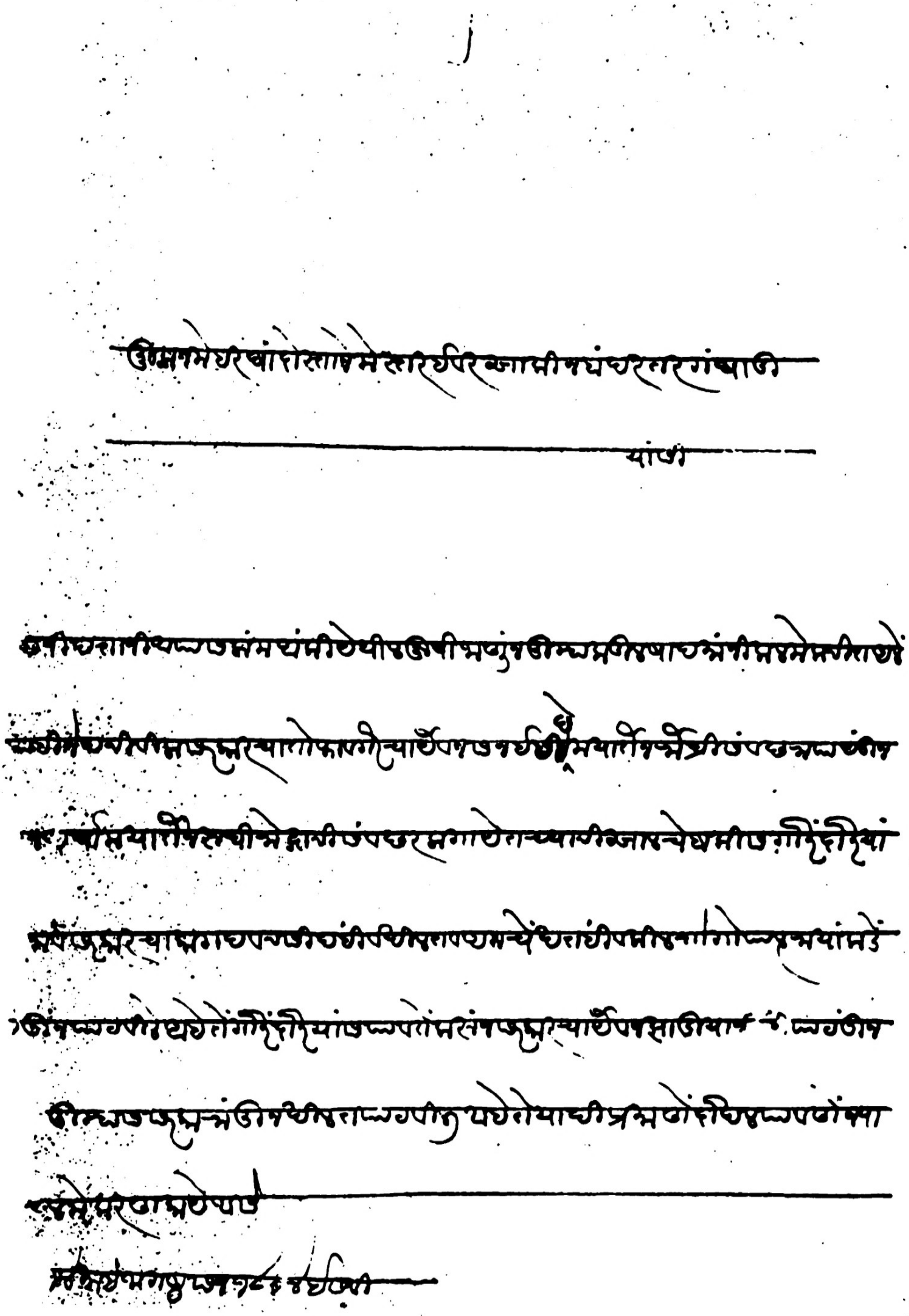

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Document no. 39. J RA AsK 2186 (b)
14.08.1804.

1 mulāja meharabāṃ dostāne mestara ivara sākina baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi
2 yāṃsi
3 aji dattāji āpā salāṃma āṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuṃna tumhā kaḍila sāda-
māṃni kalame karita aleṃ
4 pāhije darivilā sarakāracā tophā vagairacā yaivaja sana ihide mayātaina
raudri saṃvacharā pāsuṃna
5 [...] arbā mayātaina rudhirodgāri saṃvachara lāgā yeta cyāri sālace bǎkisa
goraṃdora yāṃ-
6 [...] nāveṃ sarakāracā kāgada va rasida hiṃ va khilata va amaceṃ khata
hiṃ vakila rā.gopāḷa rāyāṃ kaḍeṃ
7 [..] -uṃna pāṭavileṃ āhe teṃ goraṃdora yāṃsa pāvateṃ karuṃna sarakāra-
cā yaivaja jhāḍiyā [...] pāṭauṃna
8 [...] tumhāsa sarakārāṃtuna khilata pāṭavili āhe te yādi pramāṇeṃ dākhala
pāvaṇeṃ jyā-
9 [...]-lame karaṇa kāye āse
10 14 māhe āgaṣṭha sana 1804 isavi

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Document no. 40. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
13.10.1805.

1 rājeśri māhārāja śeraphoji rāje sāheba yāṃni sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara
2 koṭa dinamārka pitara aṃnakara jenarāla baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi yāṃsi lyāhā-
3 vayāsi kāraṇa yaisemje yethila khuṣi jānuṃna tumhāṃ kaḍila ṣādamāṃni haki-
4 kata kalame karita yeṇeṃ
5 digara sālagudastā sana khamasa mayātaina raktākṣi saṃvacharace tophā va-
6 gaira yaivajāsa rasida vakila gopāḷa rāyāṃ kaḍeṃ deuṃna pāṭavili āhe dā-
7 khala pāuṃna tophā vagaira sarakāracā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisiṃ pāvatā karaṇa
8 tumhāsa pāṭavili khilatāda[1] yādi pramāṇeṃ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ
9 bāje hakikata rājeśri dattāji apā yāṃce lihiṇyā varuṃna kaḷuṃ yei-
10 la jyādā kalame karaṇeṃ kāye ase

1. For *khilata.*

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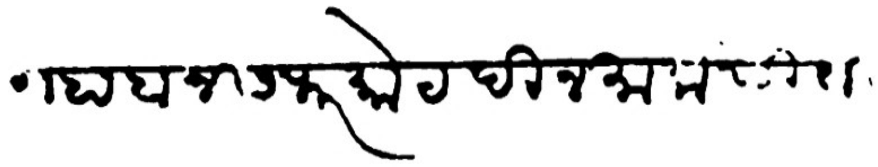

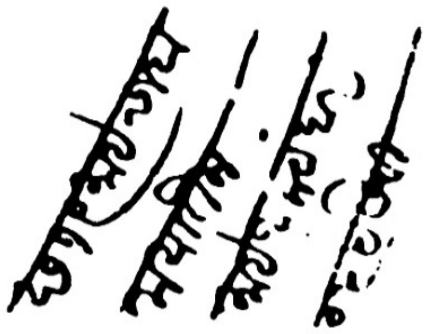

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11 [...]-gahā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārka pita- [...]
12 [...] cha 19 māhe rajaba
13 [...] mayātaina
14 [...] māhe ākaṭaṃbara
15 [...]-05 isavi.

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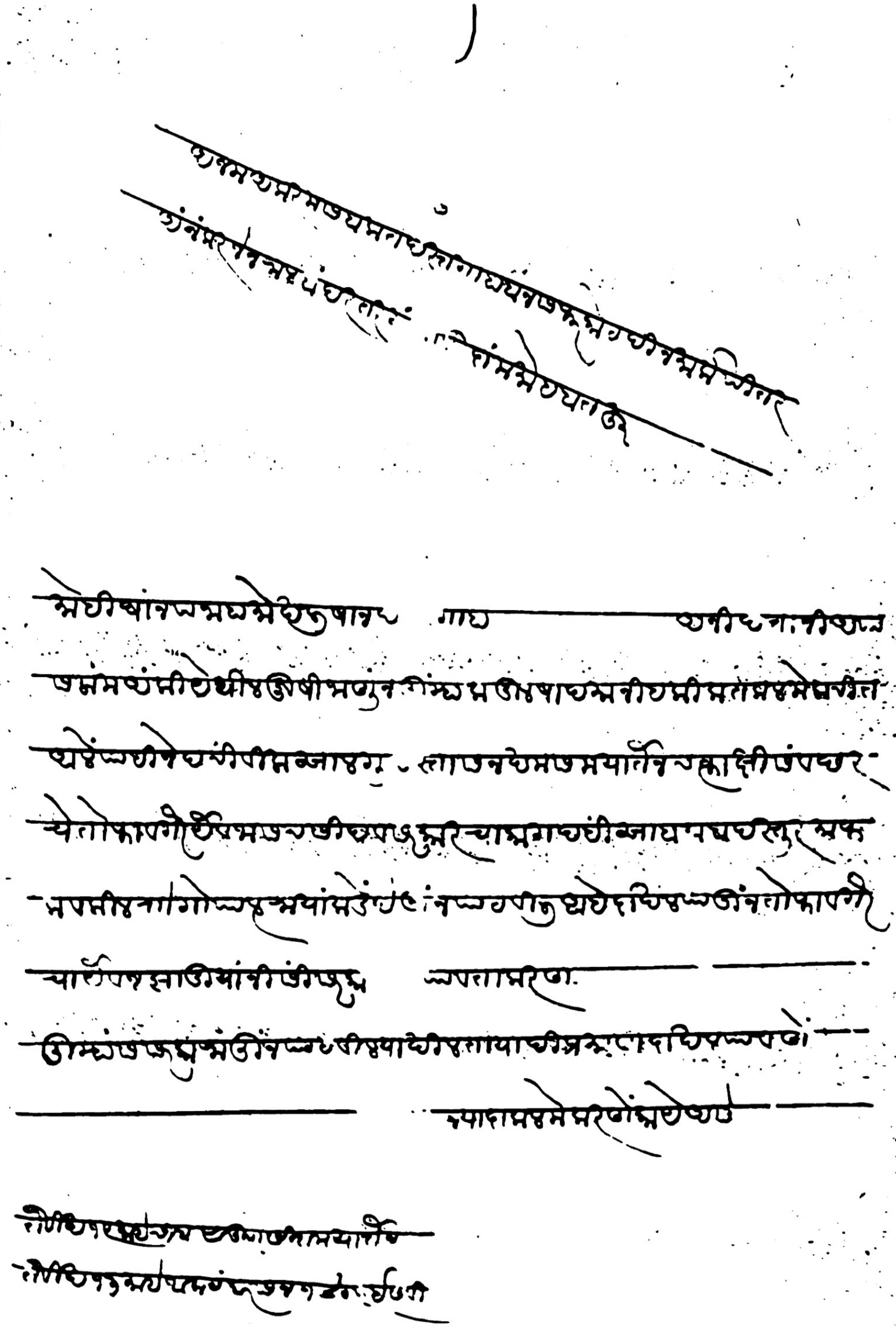

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Document no. 41. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
13.10.1805.

1 ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārka pitara
2 aṃnaṃkara jenarāla baṃdara taragaṃ -[...]- ḍi dāṃma mohabatahu
3 mohibāṃna panāhā mokhaliṣāna da- [...] -gāhā aji dattāji apā
4 salāṃma aṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuṃna tumhāṃ kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata kalame karita
5 ǎleṃ pāhije dariṃvilā sālagudastā sana khamasa mayātaina raktākṣi saṃvachara-
6 ce tophā vagaira yaivajāsa rasida va sarakāracā kāgada hiṃ sābaka badastu-ra māpha-
7 ka vakila rā. gopāḷa rāyāṃ kaḍeṃ deuṃna pāṭavili ǎhe dākhala pāuṃna tophā vagaira-
8 cā yaivaja jhāḍiyāṃ nisiṃ sarakā- [...] pāvatā karaṇa
9 tumhāṃsa sarakārāṃtuṃna pāṭavilyā khilatā yādi pramāṇa dākhala pāvaṇeṃ
10 jyādā kalame karaṇeṃ kāye ase
11 terikha 19 māhe rajaba su. sita mayātaina
12 terikha 13 māhe ākaṭaṃbara sana 1805 isavi

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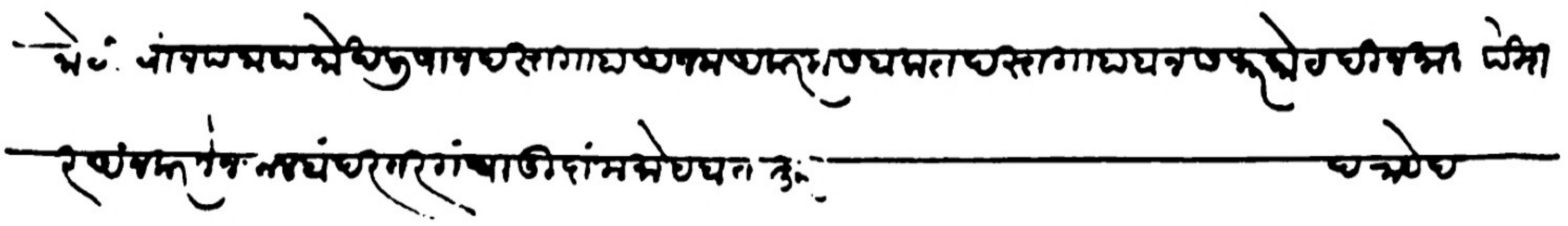

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13 mohibāṃna panāhā mokhaliṣāna dastagāhā ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārka pita-
14 ra aṃnakara jenarāla baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāṃma mohabatahu darāyeda

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Document no. 42. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
13.10.1805.

1 mulāja meharabāṃ dostāṃne mestara ivara sākiṃna baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi
2 yāṃsi
3 aji dattāji apā salāṃma aṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuṃna tumhāṃ kaḍila ṣādamāṃni
kalame ka-
4 rita ălem pāhije dariṃvilā sarakārace tophā vagaira sālagudastā sana
khamasa mayātai-
5 na raktākṣi saṃvacharā băbati yaivajāsa rasida va goraṃdora yāṃce nāveṃ
sarakāracā kāgada va
6 khilata va amaceṃ khata hiṃ vakila rā. gopāḷa rāyāṃ kaḍeṃ deuṃna pāṭa-
vileṃ ăheṃ teṃ goraṃdora
7 yāṃsa pāva-[...]-ṃ karuṃna sarakāracā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisiṃ pāṭauṃna
devaṇeṃ
8 tumhāsa khilata pāṭavili ahe te yādi pramāṇeṃ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ
9 baṃdara majakuriṃ pesaji taṃbākucā ijārā kelyā śuku piḷyāneṃ apalyā
pahilyā
10 b-[...]-yekocā leṃka māsilāmaṇi piḷyāsa va dhākaṭi bāyeko va ticyā leṃkisa
hiṃ apa-
11 lyā ăsticā vibhāga karuṃna gelyā pramāṇeṃ dayāniṣa gaunarameṃṭacyāṃni hiṃ
manāsa aṇuṃ-
12 na vārāvāri keli asatāṃ teṇa pramāṇeṃ jā-[...]-seṃ māsilāmaṇi durāgata kari-
13 [...] tyālā tākida karauṃna pesaji vāralyā pramāṇeṃ vārāvāri karavaṇeṃ
mhaṇuṃna
14 tumhāsa lihilyāsa teṇa pramāṇeṃ parāmarṣa karuṃna vārāvāri karitoṃseṃ
lihilāṃ hotāṃ
15 hāli tyā majakurāsa sarakārace vakila rā.gopāḷa rāva mophasala kaḷavitila
tumhiṃ goraṃ-
16 dora yāṃsa kaḷauṃna tyāci vārāvāri nyāye prakāreṃ karavaṇeṃ jyādā kala-
me karaṇa kāye ase
17 terikhasa 1-[...] māhe rajaba su. sita mayātaina
18 terikha [...]-3 māhe ākaṭaṃbara sana 1805 isavi

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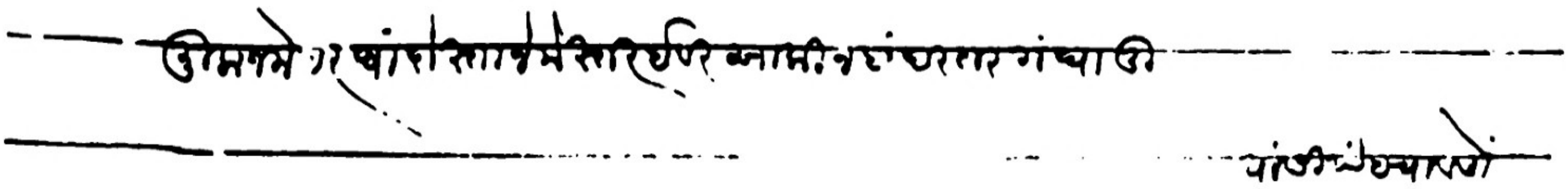

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19 mulāja meharabāṃ dostāne mestara ivara sākina baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi
20 yāṃsi poṃhacāvaṇeṃ

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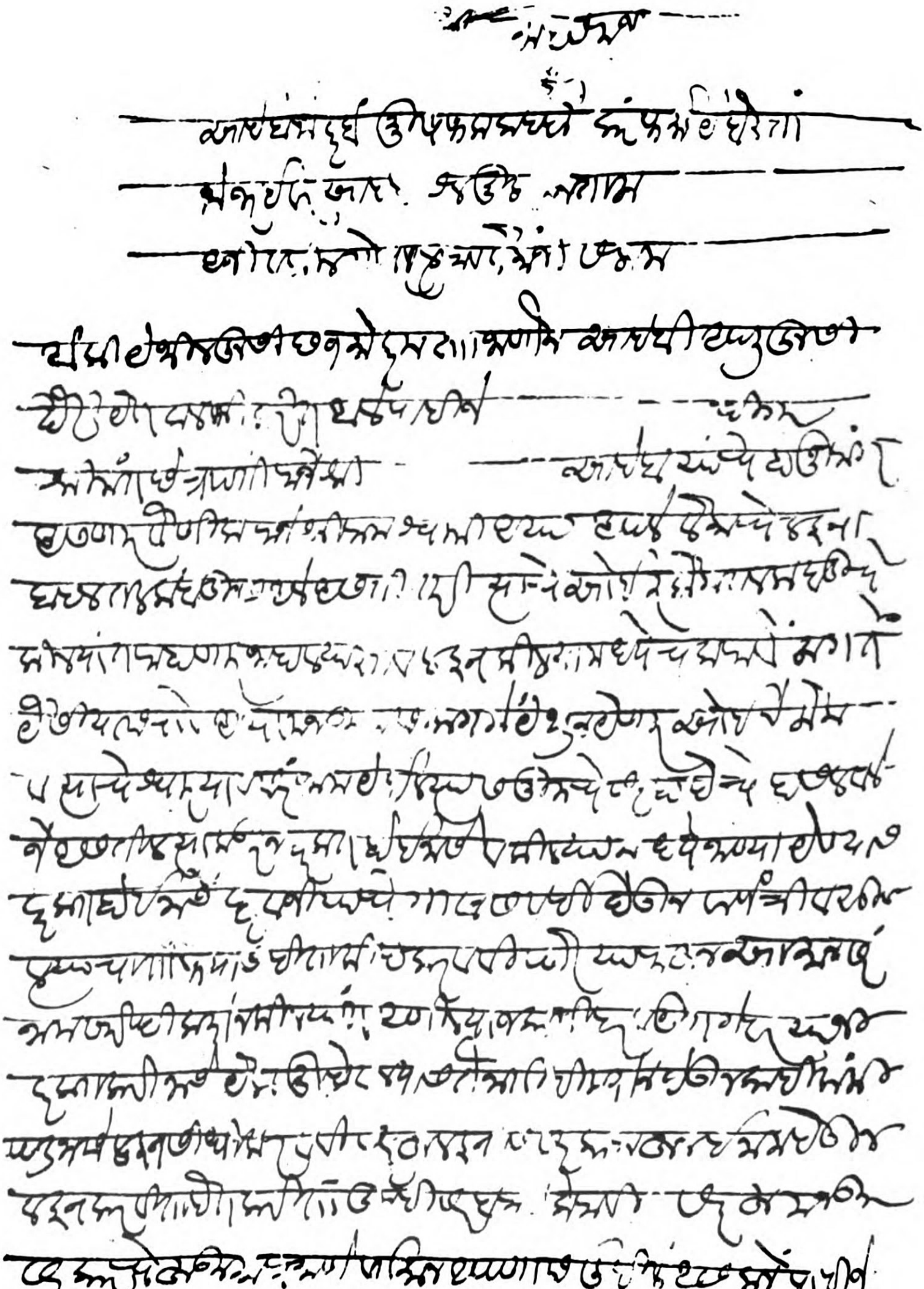

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Document no. 43.

RA AsK 2183 (b)
Terminus a quo 14.07.1803.
Terminus ante quem 07.02.1806.

śrī

1 māhārāja
2 sāheba meharabaṃ muṣaphaka kadardāṃ karaṃpharmāye dostāṃ
3 mejara ivara sāhe-[...] salamula- [...]-tālā
4 aji vakila gopāḷa[1] rāva [...]-kāṃji salāma
5 āṃki yethila khusi cha 1 moharama tā. jāṇauna sāhebi ā̆pali khusi
6 khairiyeta kalami karita āle pāhije digara
7 śrimaṃta chetrapati rājeśri sāheba yāṃce hājurāṃta
8 asaṇāra vaiṇika rājeśri rāmasvāmi āpā ā̆pale lekāce lagnā
9 badala talakabaḍisa ā̆le asati tari tyāce soira loka talakabaḍice
10 kilyāṃta rāhāṇāra jāhālyā stava lagna kilyā madhye ca karāveṃ lāgateṃ
11 yaisiyāsa rā.ayā majakurā samāgameṃ yethuna yeṇāra soire loka
12 va tyāce dhārayāva saraṃjāma yeila tyāsa tumace sarahādece hāsala vale
13 je āsatila tyā kaḍuna harakata hoināse va kilyā madhye jāṇyā yeṇyāsa
14 harakata hoināse daravajiyāce gāvāsa[2] vardi deuna vājaṃtri va sura-
15 ḷyācā tāphayāsa hi tākida kāravavi porayā rāhuna sāmāna saraṃ-
16 jāma kharidi karona kilyāṃta āṇilyā jakātidāra va gutagedāra yāni
17 harakata karināse yeka muhre vā̆la yāsa taināti hi karona deuna kāhi kaṃmi
18 paḍanāse lagna sidhi karavavi sadarahu lagnāsa sarakārātuna ināma deuna
19 lagna karavitāheta karitāṃ tumhi sarabarā-[...] karāvi sadarahu majakura
20 sarakārace hukumā pramāṇe vartamāna ā̆paṇāsa lihile ā̆sa ka- [...]-ṃ pāhije
21 [...] salāma

1. Even p has been written retroflex.
2. The 'anusvāra' in -vā- could be an ink stain.

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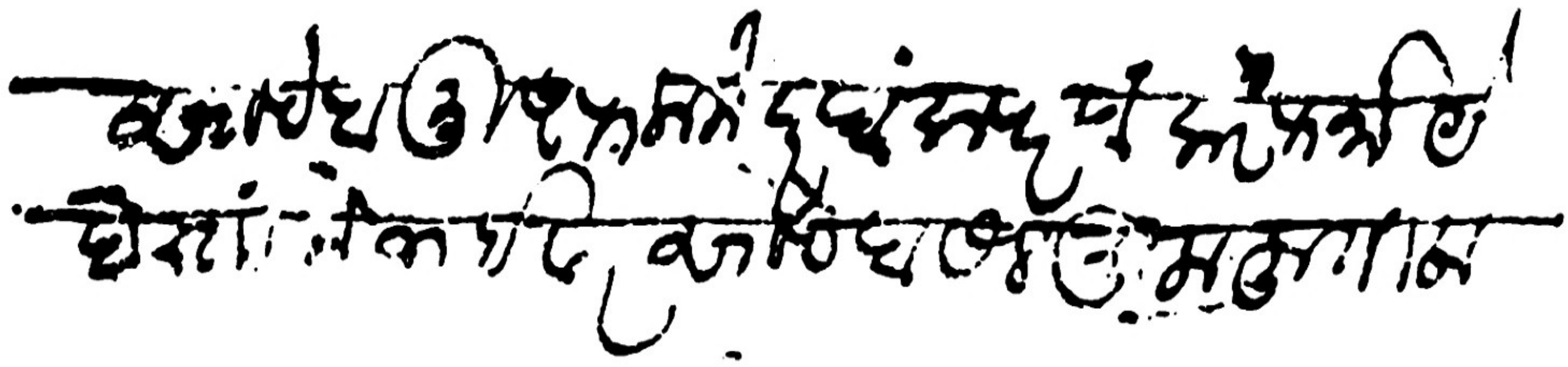

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22 sāheba muṣaphaka meharabaṃ kadaradāṃ karaṃpharmāye
23 dostāṃ mejara ivara sāheba salamulāhutālā

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Document no. 44. J

RA Ask 2183 (b)
02.04.1806.

1 rājeśri māhārāja śeraphoji rāje sāheba yāṃni sadākata dastagāhā
dānasaphara ko-
2 ṭa dinamārka pitara yeramāṃnasa govarnadora yāṃsi lihijeta aheṃ je[1]
3 jenarala pitara aṃnakara yāṃceṃ prayāṇa vilāyetisa jāhalyā vari tyāṃce
ṭhāiṃṃ[2]
4 dusare gaunarāsa dinamārka deśāce rāje yāṃ kaḍuna nemaṇuka hoye to
pāveto
5 gaunaricā adhikāra tumhāsa nemilā mhaṇuṃna ā̆ṇi jenarala aṃnakara yāṃ-
6 ni vilāyetisa prayāṇa kelyā avasariṃ tyāṃci śarirasthiti ana-
7 kuḷa navhati āṇi tyāṃsa dhaṃdā hiṃ phāra hotā tanmuḷeṃ tyāṃsa amace bhe-
8 ṭici soye paḍali nāhiṃ mhaṇuṃna ityādi bhāva jāṇauṃna apaṇa mā-
9 he mārce 25 tārikhesa amace nāveṃ lihileṃ te patra tumace vakila virarā-
10 ghava ayeṃgāra yāṃni pāvateṃ kele
11 taragaṃbāḍi bā̆ṃdaracā adhikāra jenarala pitara aṃnakara yāṃsa alyā di-
12 vasā pāsuṃna sadaiva sarakārace ṭhāiṃṃ[2] viśvāsa purvaka vartaṇuka
karuṃna sarakā-
13 race gaṃvharāce ṭhāiṃ apulyā gauravācā hevā ā̆he mhaṇāvayāci jāṇi-
14 va ca apulyā cittāsa bhuṣaṇā pariṃ lekhuna tadanuguṇa sarakāraci priti
15 aṇi abhimāna ā̆pale ṭhāiṃ jyā pariṃ vardhiṣṭaṇutā dharila tyā parici ca-
16 laṃti yekāgramaneṃ tyāṃ hiṃ keli te tumhāsa vidita asela ca tatopyadhika jyā-
17 garukapaṇeṃ sarakāraci prauḍhimā rākhuna vartāvayāci cāḍa jiviṃ vāhuṃna
18 tadanusāra nipuṇapaṇeṃ tumhiṃ apali vartaṇuka harṣaprada karāla mha-
19 ṇāvayācā amacā kr̥ta niśceye ase kiṃ bahunā purvi pāsuṃna yā
20 rājyāsa aṇi dinamārka saṃsthānāsa parasupareṃ ahe teṃ maitriceṃ nāteṃ
21 surakṣita asāvayāce arthiṃ amhiṃ kevaḷasābhilāṣa aṇi dattacitta
22 ahoṃseṃ samajāveṃ

1. *je* appears here by mistake.
2. Or *ṭhāṃiṃ*?

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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23 paripāṭhānusāra sarakārace vakila gopāḷa rāyāṃ samāgameṃ tumhāsa
khilata pāṭavili
24 ase bāje hakikata rājeśri goviṃda rāva nivāji mohite sarakhela yāṃce lihiṇyā
varuṃ-
25 na avagata hoila jyādā kalame karaṇa kāye
26 tārikha 2 māhe yeprela sana 1806
27 isavi
28 sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamā- [...]-dara taragaṃbāḍi
govarnadora
29 pitara yeramānasana darāyeda

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Document no. 45. J

H & S 1810:49
02.04.1806.

1 māhārāja
2 ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārka pitara
3 yeramāṃnasana gaunara baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāṃma mohabatahu
4 mohibāṃna panāhā mokhalisāṃna dastagāhā aji goviṃda rāva nivā-
5 ji mohite vajārata māba yāṃni salāṃma aṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuṃna apali sādamāṃni
6 kalame karita alem pāhije darivilā baṃdara majakurace gaunarice adhikārāsa tu-
7 mhāsa nemaṇuka jāhali mhaṇāvayācā artha va pesaji yā adhikārāsa hote te pitara aṃna-
8 kara jenarāla yāṃni vilāyetisa ravānā hote veḷesa śrimaṃta rājeśri sā-
9 hebāsa upacyāra karaṇesa tyāṃce soirasaukhyāce durbala te muḷeṃ va adhika kāryā ni-
10 mitya jāṇecyā jaruri muḷeṃ hi hājura bheṭisa yeṇa na jāhaleṃ mhaṇuṃna ityādi arthayu-
11 kta mārce 25 terikhesa lihileṃ patra va najara hi vakila virarāghava ayeṃgārāce hamarāhā
12 pāṭavileṃ te pāuna saṃtoṣa pāvaloṃ
13 jenarala pitara aṃnakara yā baṃdarace adhikārāsa ale divasā pāsuna sarakārace ṭhāiṃ jai-
14 seṃ viśvāseṃ kaḍuna vartaṇuka karita alem ki taisi ca tumhi hi karita yāla mhaṇuṃna niśceṃ-
15 ye mānilā ase tumhāsa hajurāṃtuna sādara jāhaleṃ patra va khilata va amhi li-
16 hileṃ patra hiṃ sarakārace vakila rā. gopāḷa rāyāṃce hamarāhā pāṭavileṃ ahe te pāvateṃ kari-
17 tila jyādā kalame karaṇa kāye ase
18 tārikha 2 māhe yeprela sana 1806 isavi

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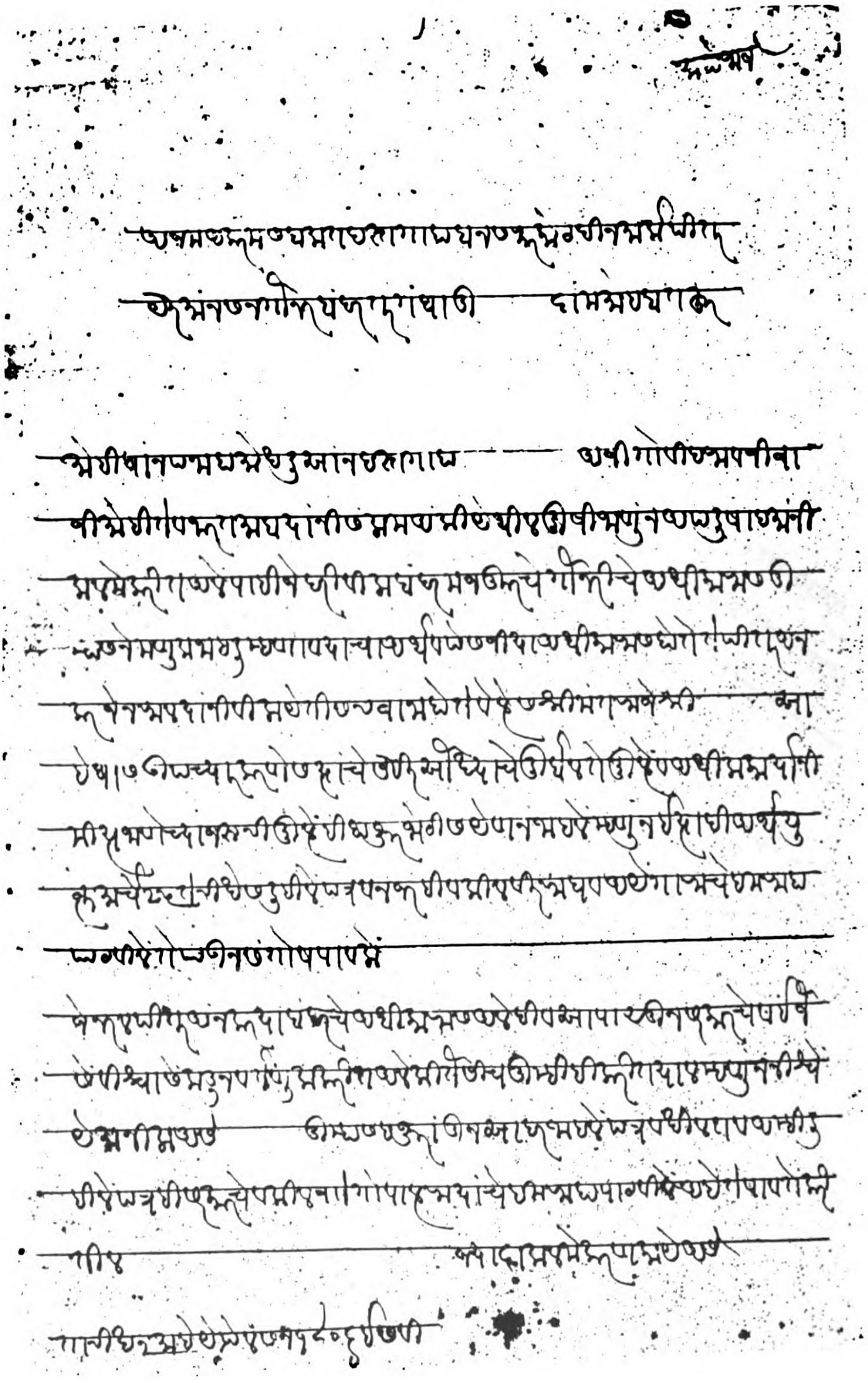

Document no. 45. J H & S 1810:49
02.04.1806.

1 māhārāja
2 ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara koṭa dinamārka pitara
3 yeramāṃnasana gaunara baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi dāṃma mohabatahu
4 mohibāṃna panāhā mokhalisāṃna dastagāhā aji goviṃda rāva nivā-
5 ji mohite vajārata māba yāṃni salāṃma aṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuṃna apali sādamāṃni
6 kalame karita alem pāhije darivilā baṃdara majakurace gaunarice adhikārāsa tu-
7 mhāsa nemaṇuka jāhali mhaṇāvayācā artha va pesaji yā adhikārāsa hote te pitara aṃna-
8 kara jenarāla yāṃni vilāyetisa ravānā hote veḷesa śrimaṃta rājeśri sā-
9 hebāsa upacyāra karaṇesa tyāṃce soirasaukhyāce durbala te muḷeṃ va adhika kāryā ni-
10 mitya jāṇecyā jaruri muḷeṃ hi hājura bheṭisa yeṇa na jāhaleṃ mhaṇuṃna ityādi arthayu-
11 kta mārce 25 terikhesa lihileṃ patra va najara hi vakila virarāghava ayeṃgārāce hamarāhā
12 pāṭavileṃ te pāuna saṃtoṣa pāvaloṃ
13 jenarala pitara aṃnakara yā baṃdarace adhikārāsa ale divasā pāsuna sarakārace ṭhāiṃ jai-
14 seṃ viśvāseṃ kaḍuna vartaṇuka karita aleṃ ki taisi ca tumhi hi karita yāla mhaṇuṃna niśceṃ-
15 ye mānilā ase tumhāsa hajurāṃtuna sādara jāhaleṃ patra va khilata va amhi li-
16 hileṃ patra hiṃ sarakārace vakila rā. gopāḷa rāyāṃce hamarāhā pāṭavileṃ ahe te pāvateṃ kari-
17 tila jyādā kalame karaṇa kāye ase
18 tārikha 2 māhe yeprela sana 1806 isavi

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Document no. 46. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
02.04.1806.

1 māhārāja
2 mulāja meharabāṃne dostāne mestara alakara sākina baṃdara tara-
3 gaṃbāḍi yāṃsi
4 vajārata māba goviṃda rāva nivāji mohite yāṃni salāma aṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna
5 tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni kalame karita aleṃ pāhije darivilā jenarala pitara aṃnakara yāṃ-
6 ni vilāyetisa ravānā jhālyā muḷeṃ tyā sthānāsa pitara yeramānasana yāṃsa va mestara
7 ivara hote tyā adhikārāsa tumhāsa nemaṇuka jhāli mhaṇāvayācā artha jaṇauna mā-
8 rce 25 tārikhesa tumhi lihileṃ patra pāuna vartamāna kaḷuṃ aleṃ śrimaṃta rājeśri
9 sāhebāsa pāṭavili te najara hi hujura praviṣṭa keli mejara miladropha va mestara ivara yā ubha-
10 yeťāṃni sarakārāsiṃ keli vartaṇuka tumhāsa ṭhauki ca asela tumhāsa dara-javāba patra
11 va sarakārāṃtuna sādara jāhali khilata hiṃ sarakārace vakila rā. gopāḷa rāyāṃce jimā
12 pāṭavileṃ ahe te yādi pramāṇeṃ pāvateṃ karitila jyādā kalame karaṇa kāye ase
13 tārikha 2 māhe yeprela sana 1806 isavi
14 mulāja meharabāne dostāne mestara alakara sākina baṃdara taragaṃbāḍi yāṃsiṃ
15 darāyeda

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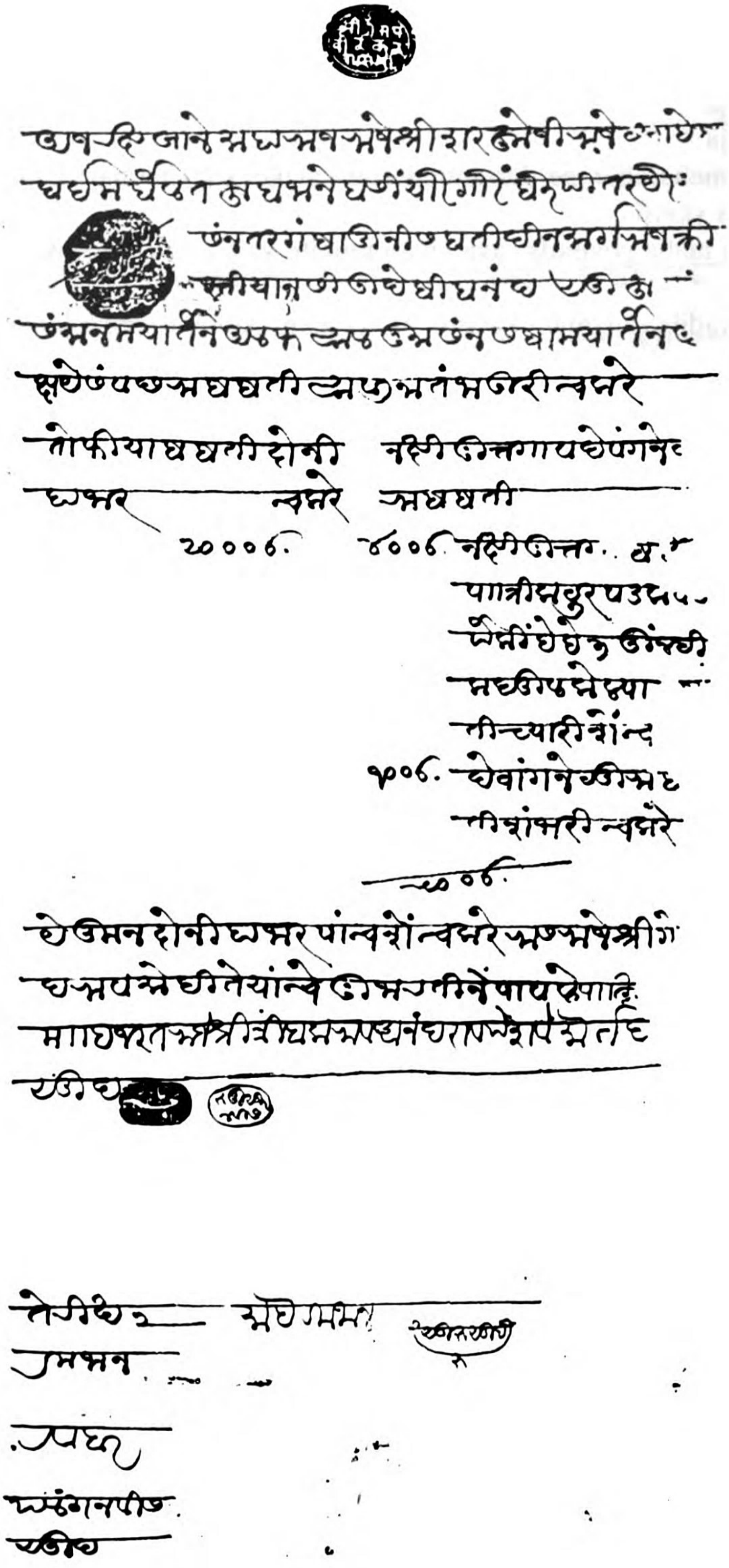

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Document no. 47.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
03.11.1807.

1 aja rakhtakhāne māhārāja rājeśri śaraphoji rāje sāhe- [...]
2 dāima daulatahu bajāneba siṃyora goraṃdora pitara yera- [...]-
3 saṃna taragaṃbāḍi nisabati dinamārga rāja kri-
4 stiyānasi ude bidānaṃda suhu- [...]
5 saṃmāna mayātaina alapha sālagu. saṃna sabā mayātaina a-
6 kṣaye saṃvacharā bă̄bă̄ti sālinā taṃjāuri cakare
7 tophiyā bă̄bă̄ti doni nakhti guttagā va devaṃgane- [...]-
8 hājāra cakare rā bă̄bă̄ti
9 2000,- 400,- nakhti guttagā bă̄-[...]
10 pa. trikaṭura vaḍaka va-[...]
11 paikiṃ dehe 3 tuṃmhi
12 kabula kelyā [...]-
13 ti cyāriśeṃ ca-[...]
14 100,- devāṃganelurā b-[...]-
15 ti śaṃbhari cakare
16 500,-
17 yekuna doni hājāra pāṃcaśeṃ cakare rāsa rājeśri g-[...]-
18 da rāva mohite yāṃce gujāratineṃ pāvale pa. hu. [...]
19 ma. hajarata rājeśri triṃbaka rāva ă̄naṃda rāva peśave morta- [...]
20 suda ruju sura-
21 terikha 2 māhe ramajāna navisa
22 ramajāna ru suru suda
23 ravadāra
24 palaṃganavisa
25 suda

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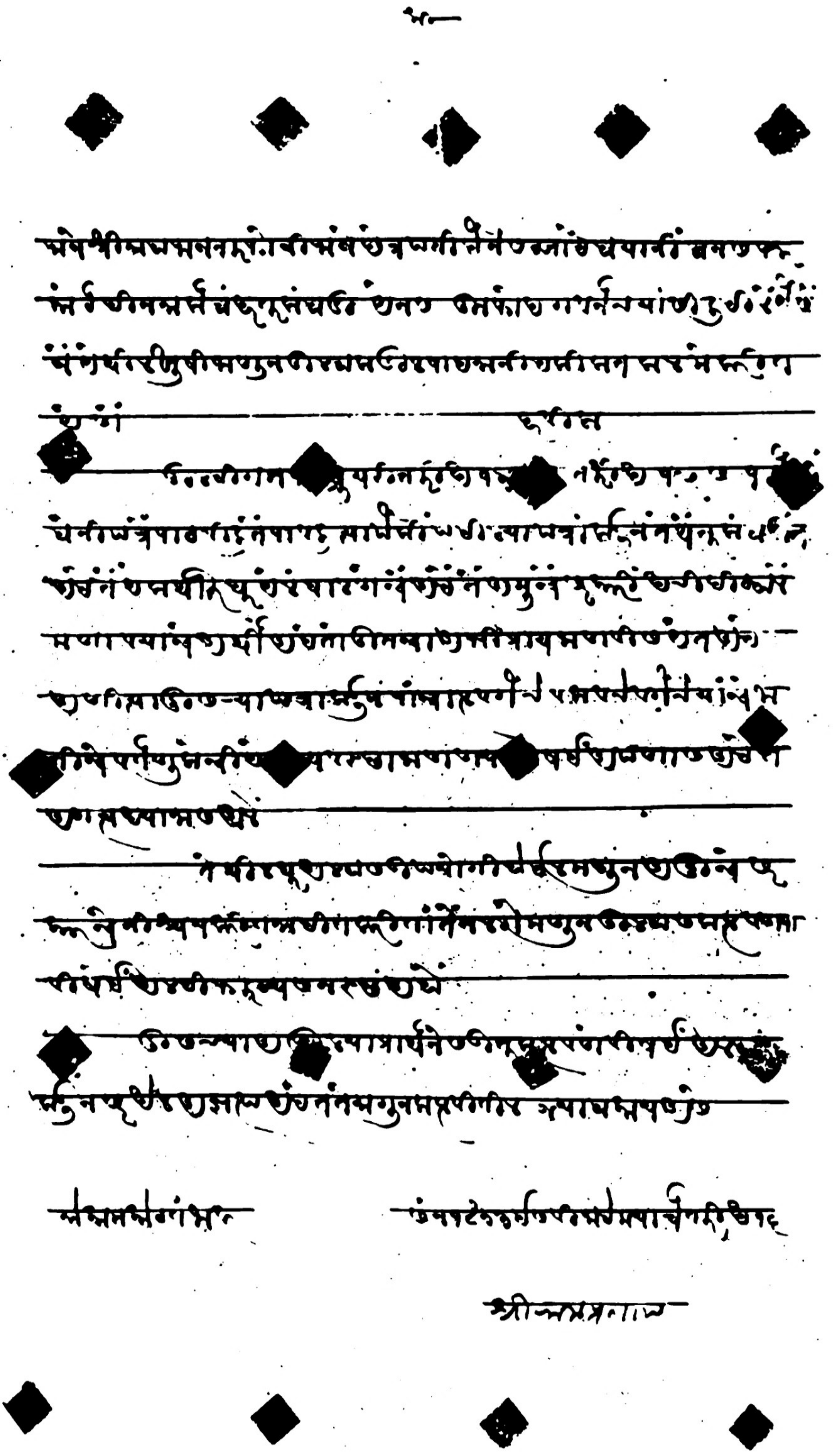

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Document no. 48.

DNM IV DA 368
16.03.1823.

śrī

1 rājeśri māhārāja śaraphoji rāje chetrapati hainesa sāheba yāniṃ dānasaphara
2 korṭa dinamārka bā̆ṃdara tarakaṃbā̆ḍi yenasa kuphoda gavarnara yāṃsi
lihileṃ yaiseṃ-
3 jeṃ yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata kalame karita
4 yeṇeṃ daravilā
5 tumhi gata [...]-ruyari[1] tārikha 13 [...] tārikha 15 sa 1 [...]
6 doni patreṃ pāṭavili[2] teṃ pāvali tyā paikiṃ pahilyā patrāṃ kaḍuna tetheṃ
tarakaṃbā̆ḍiṃta
7 ahe teṃ[3] yeka thora ghara yelaṃ[4] ghālaṇeceṃ aheṃ teṃ amuceṃ sarakāriṃ
kharidi vhāveṃ
8 maṇāvayāce arthiṃ ahe to tumacā abhiprāya jāṇavisa yeta ahe
9 aṇi tyā dusaryā patrā kaḍuna pāṃcāḷa vagaire va kavare vagaire yāṃce jā-
10 tice vartaṇukeci ye- [...]-yavaschā jāṇaṇayā viṣaiṃ apaṇāsa aheta
11 agatyadhyānāsa ā̆leṃ
12 tethila ghara amhāsa upayogi hoila maṇuna amuce sara-
13 kārace niścaya karita nāhita karitāṃ teṃ nalage maṇuna tumhāsa kaḷavaṇayā
14 viṣaiṃ amhi phāra vyasanascha ahoṃ
15 dusaryā aphulyā[5] prārthanesa ukta kaḷavaṇe viṣaiṃ amh- [...]
16 kaḍuna sarakhela ajñapta aheta te māguna kaḷavitila jyādā kāya ase
17 mokāma koṭa taṃjāvara saṃna 1823 isavi mahe mayārca tārikha 16
18 śrīrāmapratāpa

1. In this document the quadrangles of gold leaf have been fixed on top of the written text. In most cases, therefore, it is not possible to make out the full wording. In a few cases, however, a strong light from behind the sheet made it possible to read the covered *akṣaras*.
2. A reading *pāṭhavili* is also possible.
3. This *ahe teṃ* seems superfluous in the beginning of the line, but all right in the middle.
4. *yelaṃ* for *velaṃ* for *veḷaṃ*
5. The *-phu-* may also be a somewhat irregular variant of *-pu-*.

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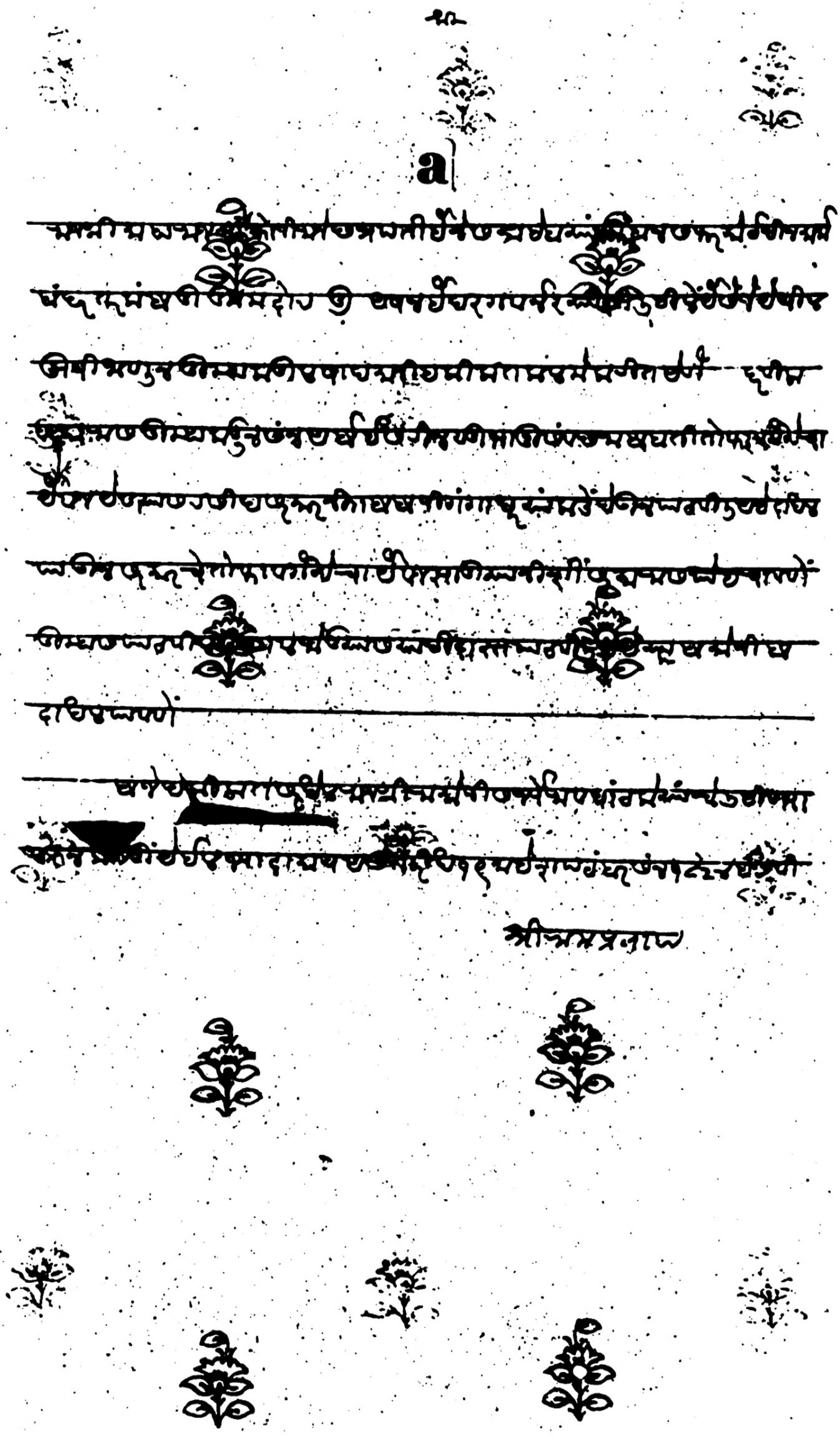
a



Document no. 49.

DNM IV DA 368
19.09.1824.

śrī

1 rājaśri māhārāja śaraphoji rāje chatrapati hainesa sāheba yāṃniṃ dānasa-phara korṭa dinamārka
2 baṃdara tarakaṃbā̆ḍi kumaṃdora u[1] ā̆ṣanahaidara gavarnara yāṃsi lihileṃ yaiseje yethila
3 khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata kalame karita yeṇe daravilā
4 sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna saṃna ā̆rbā̆ isarina subhānu saṃvacharā bā̆bati tophā vagairecā
5 yaivaja yeṇyāsa rasida sarakāra ni. bā̆bā̆ji gaṃgādhara yāṃ kaḍeṃ deuna pāṭavili ā̆he dākhala
6 pāuna sarakārace tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā niśiṃ sarakārāsa pohacāvaṇeṃ
7 tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla joḍayāsa yādidāsta pāṭavili [...]- he tyā bā̆mojibā̆
8 dākhala pāvaṇeṃ
9 bā̆je hakikata sarakhela rājaśri rāmoji sarjye rāva ghāṃṭake yāṃce lihiṇyā
10 varuna kaluṃ yeila jyādā kāya ase tārikha 19 māhe śapaṭaṃbara saṃna 1824 isavi
11 śrīrāmapratāpa

1. The most probable reading is *u*, for Ulrich; *tu* or *nu* are, however, equally possible.

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Document no. 50

DNM IV DA 368
19.09.1824.

śrī

1 ajama ǎkarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka baṃdara
2 tarakaṃbǎḍi kumaṃdora u[1] ǎṣanahaidara gavarnara sāheba salamulāhutālā
3 mohabina panāhā mokhalisāna dastagāhā aji vajārata māba rāmoji sarjye rāva
4 ghāṃṭake sarakhela yāṃniṃ salāma aki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata
5 kalame karita aleṃ pāhije daravilā sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna saṃna ǎrbǎ isarina subhānu
6 saṃvatsarā bǎbati tophā vagairecā yaivaja yeṇyāsa rasida sarakārace vaki- [...] bǎbǎji gaṃgādhara
7 yāṃ kaḍeṃ deuna pāṭavili ahe dākhala pāuna sarakārace tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisiṃ sarakārāsa
8 pohacāvaṇeṃ tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla joḍayāsa yādidāsta pāṭavili ǎhe tyā bamojiba
9 dākhala pāvaṇeṃ jyādā[2] kalame karaṇeṃ kāya ase tārikha 19 māhe śapaṭaṃbara saṃna 1824 isavi
10 sarakhela rājeśri rāmoji sarje rāva ghāṭake
11 śrī
12 ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka
13 baṃdara tarakaṃbǎḍi kumaṃdora u[1] ǎṣanahaidara gavarnara sāheba yāsi

1. *u* most probable reading, for 'Ulrich'; however, *tu* or *nu* are equally possible.
2. See no. 7, note 1.

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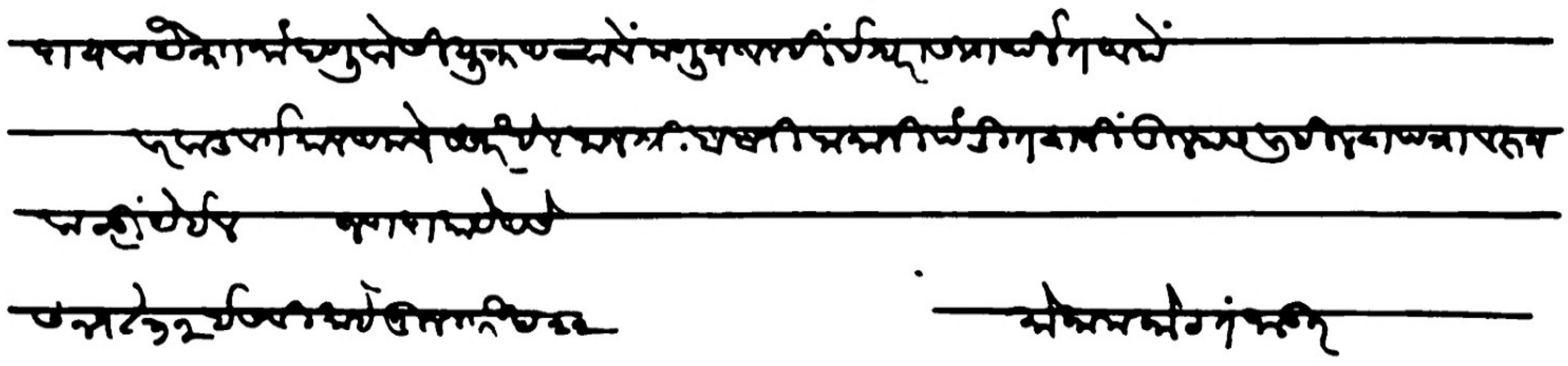
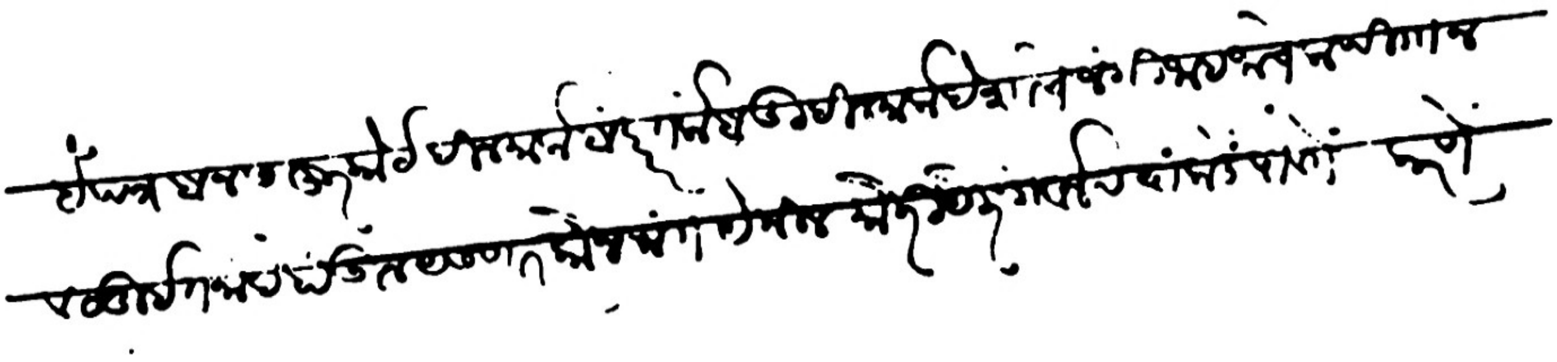
Document no. 51.

DNM IV DA 384.
22.06.1832.

śrī

1 rājaśri māhārāja śivāji rāje chetrapati hainesa sāhebā yāniṃ dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bāṃdara
2 tarkaṃbāḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna va luitunāṃda-houna asaṇāra konarāṃta
3 yemila moriyera gavarnara yāṃsi lihileṃ yaiseṃjeṃ
4 yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata kalame karita yeṇeṃ daravillā
5 āmace tirtharupa hisa hainesa rājaśri śeraphoji māhārāja chatrapati sāhebā hanarabiḷa
6 briṭiṣa gaunarameṃṭace urjita yaiśā snehāneṃ abhimānāneṃ hiṃ harayeka ataṃka rahita houna sukha-
7 saṃtoṣāneṃ 33 varṣāsa adhikakāla pāvetoṃ taṃjāura siṃhāsanādhipatya karuna āmaceṃ saṃrakṣaṇa hanarabiḷa
8 briṭiṣa gaunarameṃṭace nitiparatesa juphuna gata mayārca tārikha 8 sa paralokascha jāhale maṇāvayācā
9 duḥkhadāyaka samācāra tumhāsa kaḷavaṇesa āmhiṃ duḥkhiṣṭa āhoṃ
10 tyāṃ māghāreṃ āmace matānusāra tyāṃceṃ aurdhvadehika 16 divasāneṃ saṃpaleṃ saveṃ ca 17 ve divasiṃ
11 āmhiṃ āmace vaṃśaparaṃparāgata yaiśā siṃhāsanā vari bāsaloṃ tyā samaiṃ hanarabiḷa briṭiṣa gaunarameṃṭacyāṇiṃ
12 adhikadayā āṇi āptaki disauna āmace tirtharupace triṭisa āṇi svātaṃtryāsa āṇi ānubhavāsa
13 thoravisa hiṃ āmhāsa phurteṃ bādhyascha kele maṇāvayāceṃ vartamāna tumhāsa kaḷavaṇecā saṃtoṣa āṃgikārita
14 āhoṃ
15 tumace gaunarameṃṭāsa āmace tirtharupāniṃ disavilā sneha āṇi priti hiṃ tyā māmulā pramāṇeṃ
16 cālavaṇecā saṃtoṣa ādarita āhoṃ
17 hā artha āṇi dinamārka deśāce rāje yāṃcā prābhava āṇi bhāgyādika phute vṛtdhineṃ
18 asāveṃ maṇāvayāce arthiṃ āmace cittiṃ āhe teṃ śubhaciṃtakapaṇa hiṃ tyāṃsa kaḷajeseṃ lihuṃ pāṭavaṇeṃ
19 tumhiṃ ātāṃ āmace adhikārāce divasāṃta yeuna amace saṃsthānāṃtila ḍeniṣa gaunarameṃṭacā adhikāra
20 āṃgikāra kelāṃta maṇāvayāceṃ jāṇuna amace manāsa adhika saṃtoṣa jā-halā-tumhiṃ tyā padā vari cirakāla karti-





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21 dāyaka[1] yaiśā nāṃdaṇukesi yukta ăsāveṃ maṇuna āmhiṃ iśvarāsa prārthita āhoṃ
22 varakaḍa vartamāna amace sārakhela rājaśri băbăji rāmāji paṃḍita yāniṃ tumhāsa lihilyā patrā varuna
23 kaḷuṃ yeila jyādā kāye ăse
24 saṃna 1832 isavi māhe juna tārikha 22 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura
25 heṃ patra dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka băṃdara tarkaṃbăḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna
26 va luitanāṃda houna ăsaṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera gavarnara yāṃ kaḍeṃ pāvateṃ karaṇeṃ

1. For *kīrt(t)i.*

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Document no. 52.

H & S 1272:53
22.06.1832.

śrī

1 ajama ăkarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka băṃdara
2 tarkaṃbăḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna va luita-
3 nāṃda houna asaṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera gaunara sā. salamulāhu-
tālā
4 mohibina panāhā mokhaliṣāṃ dastagāhā ăji rājaśri băbaji rāmāji paṃḍita
sarakhela
5 yāniṃ salāma āṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila śādamāni hakikata
kalame
6 karita ālemṃ pāhije daravillā
7 hisa hainesa śrimaṃta rājaśri śivāji māhārāja chatrapati sā. yāniṃ āpalyā
tirtharupā māghāreṃ
8 ăvichinna teneṃ vaṃśaparaṃparānubhukta yaiseṃ taṃjāuraceṃ siṃhāsanā-
dhipatya gata mayārca tārikha 24 sa
9 aṃgikārilemṃ te divasiṃ hanarabiḷa briṭiṣa udyogascha sarvatrāniṃ karāvā to
māna karuna kailāsa-
10 vāsi hisa hainesa rājaśri śeraphoji māhārāja sā. yāṃce triṭisa kitābăsa
svātaṃtryāsa-yevāṃsa-
11 thoravisa hiṃ phurte bădhya kele
12 tumace ămace gaunarameṃṭāsa āhe teṃ nāteṃ āṇi sneha hiṃ kailāsavāsi
rājaśri śeraphoji māhārāja
13 sā. yāṃce divasāṃta cālata ālyā pramāṇeṃ cālavaṇe viṣaiṃ hisa hainesa
rājaśri māhārāja sā. saṃtoṣa-
14 yukta āheta
15 tumhāsa āṇi tumace gaunarameṃṭace mukhya yaise saradārāsa hiṃ śālā
pāṭavaṇesa jāhalyā hujura-
16 ce hukumānusāra pāṭavilyā āheta tyā yādidāstā pramāṇeṃ dayā karuna
ăṃgikārāvyā maṇuna
17 prārthita āhoṃ tumhiṃ padāruḍha jāhalāṃta teṃ vartamāna yaikuna
āmhāsa phāra saṃtoṣa jāhalā-
18 tumhiṃ cirajivi āṇi urjita yaiśā nāṃdaṇukesi yukta hiṃ ăsāveṃ maṇuna
sarvadāṃ bhagavaṃtāsa
19 prārthanā karita āhoṃ jyādā kalame karaṇeṃ kāya ase
20 saṃna 1832 isavi māhe juna tārikha 22 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura

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21 heṃ patra ǎjama ǎkarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara korṭa dina-
mārka bǎṃdara tarkaṃbǎḍi dinamārka deśāce
22 jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna va luitanāṃda houna ǎsaṇāra konarāṃta yemila
moriyera gaunara sā. yāṃ kaḍeṃ pāvate karaṇeṃ

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Document no. 53.

DNM IV DA 385.
19.09.1832.

śrī

1 ajama akarama sadākata dastagāṃhā dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka
2 bāṃdara tarkaṃbāḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna
3 va luitanāṃda houna asaṇāra konarāṃta-yemila moriyera
4 gaunara sā. salamulāhutālā-
5 mohibina panāhā-mokhaliśāṃ dastagāṃhā āji rājaśri bābāji rāmāji paṃḍita
6 sarakhela yāniṃ salāma āṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila śādamāni
7 hakikata kalame karita āleṃ pāhije-daravillā
8 sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna saṃna isane salāsaina khara saṃvatsarā bābāti
tophā vagairecā yaivaja
9 yeṇyāsa rasida sarakārace vakila bābāji gaṃgādhara yāṃ kaḍeṃ deuna pāṭavili
āhe-dākhala pāuna
10 sarakārace tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisiṃ poṃhacāvaṇeṃ-tumhāsa
pāṭavilyā śāla joḍayāsa
11 yādidāsta pāṭavili āhe-tyā bāmojibā dākhala pāvaṇeṃ jyādā[1] kalame karaṇeṃ
kāye ase-
12 saṃna 1832 isavi māhe sepaṭaṃbāra tārikha 19 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura
13 heṃ patra dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bāṃdara tarkaṃbāḍi dinamārka
deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna
14 va luitanāṃda houna āsaṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera gavarnara yāṃ
kaḍeṃ pāvate karaṇeṃ

1. See no. 7, note 1.

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Document no. 54.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2.
19.09.1832.

śrī

1 ajama ā̆karama dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbā̆ḍi-
2 gaunarameṃṭāṃta asaṇāra yākobā̆[1] raiyelinga yāṃsi
3 mohabā̆ta yekhalā̆sa dastagāṃhā āji rājaśri bā̆bā̆ji rāmāji paṃḍita sarakhela
4 yāniṃ salāma āṃki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila śādamāni
5 hakikata kalame karita yeṇeṃ daravillā
6 sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna saṃna isane salāsaina khara saṃvatsarā bā̆bā̆ti tophā vagairecā yaivaja
7 yeṇyāsa rasida sarakārace vakila bā̆bā̆ji gaṃgadhara yāṃ kaḍeṃ deuna pāṭavili āhe-dākhala pāuna
8 sarakāra tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisiṃ sarakārāsa poṃhacāvaṇeṃ tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla
9 joḍayāsa yādidāsta pāṭavili āhe-tyā bā̆mojibā̆ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ jyādā[2] kalame karaṇeṃ kāye ā̆se
10 saṃna 1832 isavi māhe sepaṭaṃbā̆ra tārikha 19 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura

1. His name is otherwise quoted as 'Johannes'.
2. See no. 7, note 1.

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Document no. 55.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2.
08.10.1833.

śrī

1 ajama ā̌karama sadākata dastagāṃhā dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka
2 bā̌ṃdara tarkaṃbā̌ḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna
3 va luiṃtanāṃda houna ā̌saṇāra konarāṃta yemila-moriyera gaunara sā.
4 salamulāhutālā-
5 mohibina panāhāṃ mokhaliśā dastagāṃhā-āji rājaśri bā̌bā̌ji rāmāji paṃḍita sarakhela
6 yāniṃ salāma āṃki-yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila śādamāni hakikata
7 kalame karita āleṃ pāhije daravillā
8 sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna saṃna salāsa salāsaina naṃdana saṃvatsarā bā̌bā̌ti tophā vagairecā yaivaja
9 yeṇyāsa rasida sarakārace vakila bā̌bā̌ji gaṃgadhara yāṃ kaḍeṃ deuna pāṭavili āhe-dākhala pāuna
10 sarakārace tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisiṃ poṃhacāvaṇeṃ-tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla joḍayāsa
11 yādidāsta pāṭavili āhe-tyā bā̌mojibā̌ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ jyādā[1] kalame karaṇeṃ kāya ā̌se
12 saṃna 1833 isavi māhe ā̌kaṭobā̌ra tārikha 8 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura
13 heṃ patra ā̌jama ā̌karama sadākata dastagāhāṃ dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bā̌ṃdara tarkaṃbā̌ḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgi-
14 jāhajāce kapitāna va luitanāṃda houna ā̌saṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera gavarnara sā. yāṃ kaḍeṃ pāvate karaṇeṃ

1. See no. 7, note 1.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

Document no. 56.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2.
28.09.1834.

śrī

1 rājaśri māhārāja śivāji rāje chetrapati hainesa sāhebā̆
yāniṃ dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bā̆ṃdara
2 tarkaṃbā̆ḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna va luitanāṃda houna
asaṇāra konaraṃta
3 yemila moriyera gavarnara yāṃsi lihileṃ yaiseṃje-
4 yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata kalame karita yeṇeṃ
daravillā
5 sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna saṃna arbā̆ salāsaina vijaye saṃvatsarā bā̆bā̆ti
tophā vagairecā yaivaja[1] jhāḍi-
6 yā nisiṃ sarakārāsa poṃhacāvaṇeṃ tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla joḍayāsa yādi-
dāsta pāṭavili āhe - tyā bā̆mo-
7 jibā̆ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ bā̆je hakikata sarakhela rājaśri bā̆bā̆ji rāmāji paṃḍita
yāṃce lihiṇyā varuna kaḷuṃ ye[2]
8 yeila jyādā[3] kāya ase
9 saṃna 1834 isavi māhe sepaṭaṃbā̆ra tārikha 28 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura
10 heṃ patra dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbā̆ḍi dinamārka
deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna
11 va luitanāṃda houna ā̆saṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera gavarnara yāṃ
kaḍeṃ pāvateṃ karaṇeṃ

1. The whole phrase between *tophā vagairecā yaivaja yeṇyāsa rasida*, etc. and *tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisiṃ*, etc. has been left out.
2. *ye* appears here by mistake.
3. See no. 7, note 1.

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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
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[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

Document no. 57.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2.
28.09.1834.

śrī

1 ajama akarama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka
2 bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbā̆ḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna
3 va luitanāṃda houna asaṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera
4 gaunara sāhebā̆ salamulāhutālā-
5 mohibina panāhā mokhaliśā dastagāhā ā̆ji- rājaśri bā̆bā̆ji rāmāji paṃḍita
6 sarakhela yāniṃ salāma āṃki-yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata
7 kalame karita āleṃ pāhije daravillā
8 sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna saṃna ā̆rbā̆ salāsaina vijaye saṃvacharā bā̆bā̆ti tophā vagairecā yaivaja
9 yeṇyāsa rasida sarakārace vakila bā̆bā̆ji gaṃgadhara yāṃ kaḍeṃ deuna pāṭavili āhe-dākhala pāuna
10 sarakārace tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisiṃ poṃhacāvaṇeṃ tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla joḍayāsa
11 yādidāsta pāṭavili āhe-tyā bā̆mojibā̆ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ jyādā[1] kalame karaṇeṃ kāye ā̆se
12 saṃna 1834 isavi māhe sepaṭaṃbā̆ra tārikha 28 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura
13 heṃ patra ā̆jama ā̆karama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara korṭa dina-mārka bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbā̆ḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce
14 kapitāna va luitanāṃda houna ā̆saṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera gaunara sāhebā̆ yāṃ kaḍeṃ pāvate karaṇeṃ

1. See no. 7, note 1.

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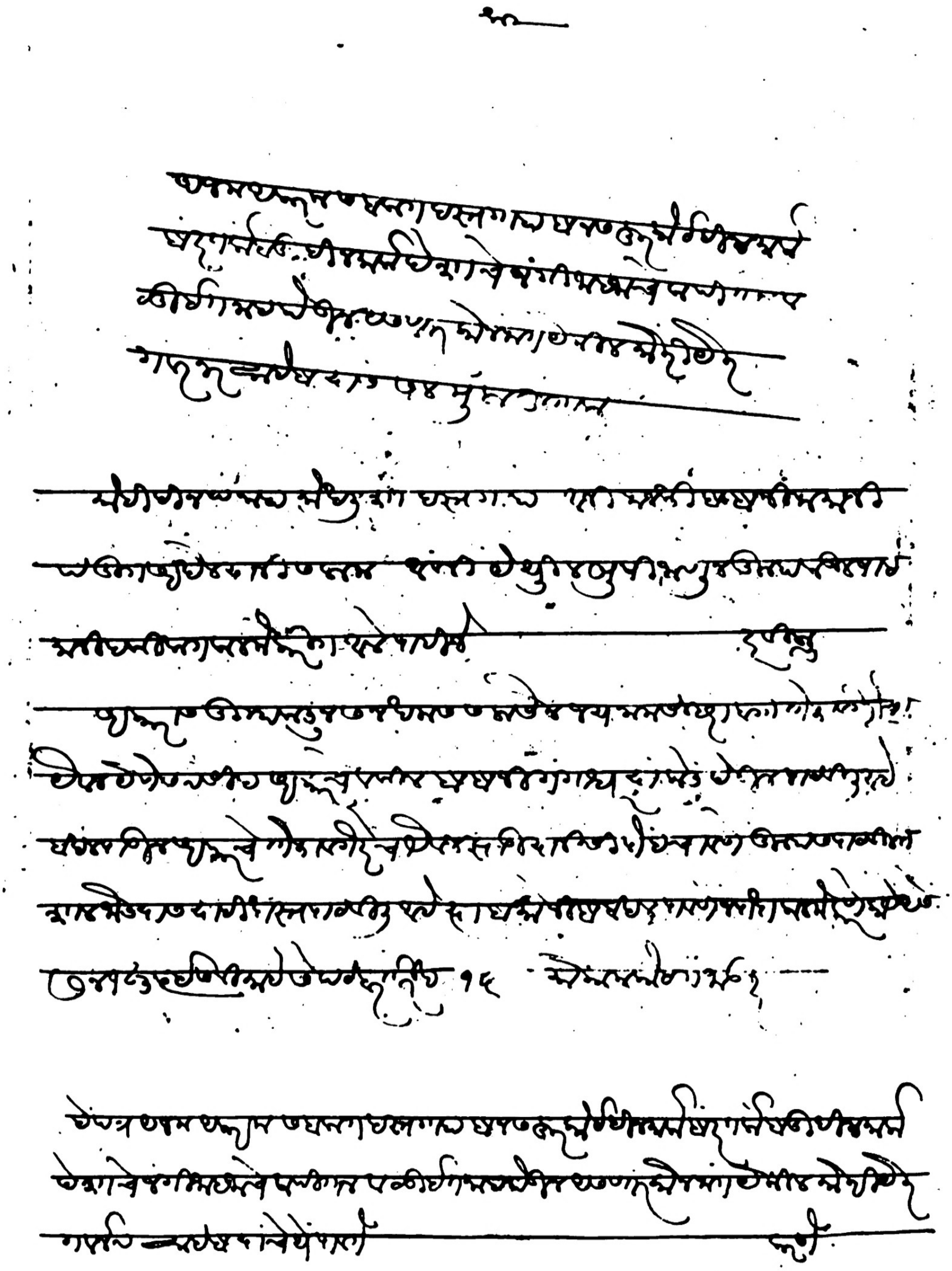

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Document no. 58.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2
16.09.1835.

śrī

1 ajama ā̆karama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka
2 bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbaḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna va
3 luitanāda houna ā̆saṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera
4 gavaranara sāhebā̆ yāṃsa salamulāhutālā
5 mohibina panāhā mokhaliśāṃ dastagāhā āji rājaśri bā̆bā̆ji rāmāji
6 paḍita sarakhela yāni salāma āṃkiṃ yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣāda-
7 māni hakikata kalame karita āle pāhije daravillā
8 sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna sana khamasa salāsaina jaya nāma śaṃvacharā
ba. tophā vagairecā
9 yaivaja yeṇesa rasida sarakārace vakila bā̆bā̆ji gaṃgadhara yāṃ kaḍeṃ
deuna pāṭavili āhe
10 dākhala pāuna sarakārāce tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisi poṃhacāvaṇeṃ tumhāsa
pāṭavilyā
11 śāla joḍayāsa yādidāsta pāṭavili āhe tyā bā̆mojibā̆ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ jyādā[1]
kalame karaṇe kāye ā̆seṃ
12 sana 1835 isavi māhe sepaṭaṃbara tārikha 16 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura
13 heṃ patra ā̆jama ā̆karama sadākata dastagāhā dānasaphara korṭa dina-
mārka bā̆ṃdara tarkabā̆ḍi dinamārka
14 deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna va luitanāda houna ā̆saṇāra konarāṃta
yemila moriyera
15 gavarnara sāhebā̆ yāṃce theṃ pāvateṃ karaṇeṃ

1. See no. 7, note 1.

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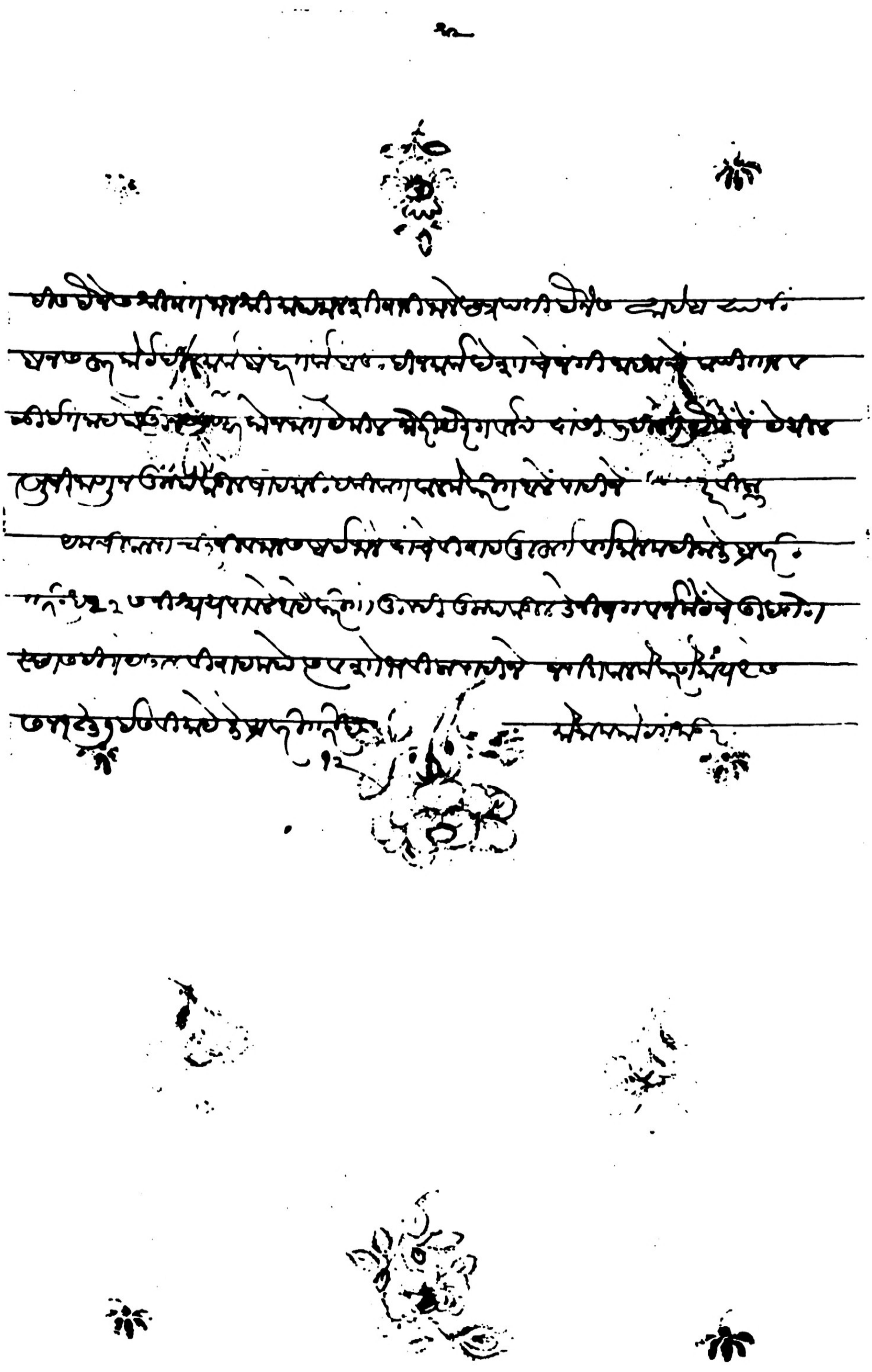

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Document no. 59.

DNM IV DA 384.
12.02.1837.

śrī

1 hisa hainesa śrimaṃta rājaśri māhārāja śivāji rāje chatrapati hainesa sāhebā̆ yāniṃ
2 dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbā̆ḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijā-
hajāce kapitāna va
3 luitanāda houna asaṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera gavarnara yāṃsi
lihileṃ yaiseṃjeṃ yethila
4 khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata kalame karita āleṃ pāhijeṃ
daravillā
5 ā̆maci kanayā cirajiva rājasabā̆i rāje yāṃce vivāhamuhurta vartamāna mahi-
nā phebravari
6 tārikha 22 sa niścaya pāvale āhe karitāṃ tumhi tumhā kaḍila ḍeniṣa gavar-
nameṃṭace udyoga-
7 schā sahita yeuna vivāhamahotsava śobhavilā pāhije jyādā kalame karaṇe
kāye ā̆se
8 sana 1837 isavi māhe phebravari tārikha 12 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura

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Document no. 60.

DNM IV DC 243.
25.09.1837.

śrī

1 rājaśri māhārāja śivāji rāje chatrapati hainesa sāhebā̆ yāniṃ dānasaphara
2 korṭa dinamārka bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbā̆ḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce kapitāna va luitanāda
3 houna ā̆saṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera gavarnara yāṃsi lihileṃ yaiseṃjeṃ
4 yethila khu- [...] jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata kalame karita yeṇeṃ daravillā
5 sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna sabā̆ salāsaina durmukha saṃvacharā babati tophā vagairecā yaivaja yeṇyāsa
6 rasida sarakāra ni. vakila goviṃda rāva yutdhoji yāṃ kaḍeṃ deuna pāṭavili āhe te dākhala pāuna
7 sarakārace tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisi poṃhacāvaṇeṃ tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla joḍayāsa
8 yādidāsta pāṭavili āhe tyā bā̆mojibā̆ dākhala pāvaṇeṃ bā̆je hakikata sarakhela rājaśri
9 bā̆bā̆ji rāmāji paṃḍita yāṃce lihiṇyā varuna kaḷu yeila jyādā kāya ase
10 sana 1837 isavi māhe sepaṭaṃbara tārikha 25 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura
11 heṃ patra dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbā̆ḍi dinamārka deśāce jaṃgijāhajāce
12 kapitāna va luitanāṃda houna ā̆saṇāra konarāṃta yemila moriyera gavarnara yāṃce theṃ pāvateṃ karaṇeṃ

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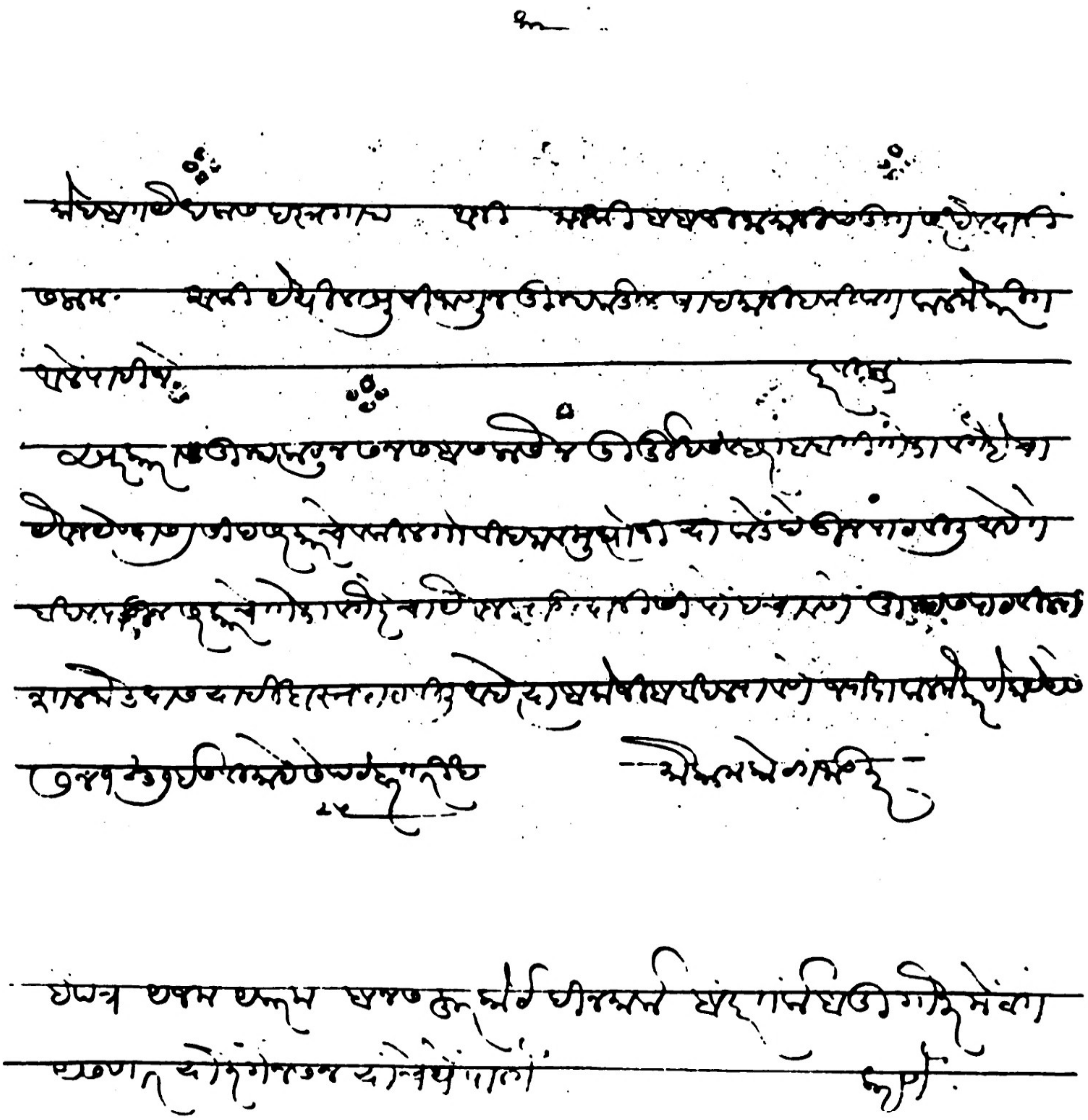

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Document no. 61.

H & S 1274:53
25.09.1837.

śrī

1 ajama ăkarama dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bămdara tarkambădi gaunara-
2 memṭāmta ăsaṇāra yoragenasamna yāmsi
3 mohabăta yekhalāsa dastagāhā āji rājaśri băbăji rāmāji paṃḍita sarakhela yāniṃ
4 salāma ākiṃ yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila sādamāni hakikata kalame karita
5 ālemṃ pāhijeṃ daravillā
6 sarakārāsa tumhā kaḍuna sana sabă salāsaina durmukha saṃvacharā babati toṃphā vagairecā
7 yaivaja yeṇyāsa rasida sarakārace vakila govida rāva mutdhoji yāṃ kaḍeṃ deuna pāṭavili āhe te
8 dākhala pāuna sarakārace tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisi poṃhacāvaṇeṃ tumhāsa pāṭavilyā
9 śāla joḍayāsa yādidāsta pāṭavili āhe tyā bămojibă dākhala pāvaṇeṃ jyādā[1] kalame karaṇe kāye ăse
10 sana 1837 isavi māhe sepaṭaṃbara tārikha 25 mokāma koṭa taṃjāura
11 heṃ patra ăjama ăkarama dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka băṃdara tarkaṃbădi gaunarameṃṭāṃta
12 ăsaṇāra yoragenasana yāṃce theṃ pāvateṃ karaṇeṃ

1. See no. 7, note 1.

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Document no. 62.

RA Manuscript Repertory no. 14,
p. 507. Ostindien no. 19 "Oak Cabinet".
08.10.1844.

śrī

1 ājama ākarama dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbā̆ḍi
2 gaunarameṃtāṃta āsaṇāra se malara
3 yāṃsi
4 mohabā̆ta yekhalāsa dastagāhā āji rājaśri āṇāji tyāgarāja paṃḍita sarakhela
yāṃniṃ salāma -
5 āki yethila khuṣi jāṇuna tumhā kaḍila ṣādamāni hakikata kalame karita yeṇeṃ
6 daravillā
7 sarakārāsa tuṃmhā kaḍuna ārbā̆ ārbaina śobhakm̥ nāma saṃvatsarā bā̆bā̆ti
tophā vagairecā yaivaja
8 yeṇesa rasida sarakāra ni. vakila palaṃganavisa veṃkāji goviṃda yāṃ kaḍe
deuna pāṭavili āhe te
9 dākhala pāuna sarakārace tophā vagairecā yaivaja jhāḍiyā nisi pāhacāvaṇeṃ[1]
tumhāsa pāṭavilyā śāla
10 joḍayāsa yādidāsta pāṭavili āhe tyā bā̆mojibā̆ dākhale pāvaṇe-jyādā kalame
karaṇeṃ kāya āse
11 saṃna 1844 isavi māhe mokāma koṭa taṃjāura
12 ākaṭobara tārikha 8

śrī

13 heṃ patra ājama ākarama dānasaphara korṭa dinamārka bā̆ṃdara tarkaṃbā̆ḍi
gaunarameṃṭāṃta āsaṇāra
14 se milara yāṃce theṃ praviṣṭa kije

1. For *pohacāvaṇeṃ*

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Document no. 1.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
00.00.1725.

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore

From the treasury of His Majesty King Śaraphaji – may his good fortune remain perpetual – to the honourable Christian Ulrich v. Nissen, governor of Tranquebar (l. 3). In the year 1126 of the Suhūra sana era (A.D. 1725-1726) it should be known that the tribute money for last year, year 1125, totalling 2.000 Tanjore cakras, two thousand cakras, has been received through the intermediacy of Ari Pili (l. 7).

Carried out [...]
[...] the sarakhela [...] (l. 9).

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Document no. 2.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 14/24.05.1741.

The honourable governor Paul Krisk Panck[1] – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 2) – Loving and courteous, most brilliant (man) to you[2] Aṃṇāji Rāu Seṭage, revenue officer in charge, sends respectful greetings with his whole happy loving heart (l. 7). After learning about the welfare in this place you must write the news of your (own) dear happy well-being (l. 9). Further, a letter was sent that Rāmaliṃga Nāika, warden of the northern district, should be arrested and handed over to Peramāḷa Nāika (l. 11). Now, it was ordered that their deputies should settle the affairs in a reasonable way (l. 13); in conformity with that, a representation of the circumstances of the case took place and a settlement will be reached at the site, and that was also written by you (l. 15). What more is there to write? (l. 16) Let there be affectionate love (between us) (l. 16). This is the matter I had to mention (l. 17). Let there be happiness for you as well as for the family (l. 18).

Seal

1. One of the frequent spellings of this very unusual name according to contemporary sources is 'Povulurk Griskpank'; cf. also the transliteration.
2. For the literal translation of *i* and *ajiṃ* see word index.

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Document no. 3.

RA AsK 2188 (a)
11.09.1744.

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore

From the treasury of His Majesty King Pratāpasiṃha – may his good fortune remain perpetual – to the honourable Ivar Bonsach, governor of Tranquebar (l. 3). In the year 1145 of the Suhūra sana era (A.D. 1744-1745) it should be known – seal of the peshwa registered – that the total tribute and rent in cash in Tanjore cakra, namely (l. 6)

tribute money for last year two thousand cakras, 2.000,- (l. 9)	rent in cash as agreed by you of the three villages belonging to the northern part of Tikaṭura district for the current year, one thousand and fifty cakras, 1050,- (l. 11)

this sum of three thousand and fifty cakras has been received through the intermediacy of the revenue officer in charge Aṃṇāji Rāva Seṭage (l. 13). In agreement with the order from His Majesty's court, carried out by Narasiṃga Rāva son of Anada Rāva peshwa (l. 15).

seal	Approved by the king's personal secretary (l. 16).	Approved by the king's personal officer (l. 16).	Admitted by the registrar. (l. 16)

Dated 14th of Shaʿbān 11th September A.D.1744. Entered (l. 19). Attested by the revenue records officer (l. 21).	In the month of Shaʿbān, attested by the king's personal officer (l. 19).	the king's personal secretary (l. 19).	Verified and forwarded for execution (l. 18).

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Document no. 4.

RA AsK 2183 (a)
00.07/08.1783.

śrī

His Majesty King Pratāpasiṃha has the following to write to governor Hans Ernst Bonsach, treasure of faithfulness, in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): The note of hand sent by you has arrived and the contents therein have been made known (l. 4). It dealt with the topic of land (l. 4); yet that (land) was not given to anyone as a colony nor will any further be given (l. 5). To the English we owed a small amount of money and therefore, for one year only, (it) was given to pay interest on a loan (l. 7). Now the government's district (lent as a colony) is indeed within the government's authority (l. 7). You say that it is harmful to you through (the land) being (held) indirectly (i.e. not granted outright) (l. 8). These *māghāṇeṃ* lands are (always) within the government (i.e. must never be alienated) (l. 8). There is no need for you to be uneasy in any matter (l. 9). We (will) be very satisfied about you when we see your faithfulness and good behaviour (l. 10). You should continually write and send (us news of) your affairs (l. 11). What more is there to write? (l. 11).

I owe the translation of line 7-8 to Dr. I.M.P. Raesïde of SOAS.

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Document no. 5.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
17.12.1754.

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore

From the treasury of His Majesty King Pratāpasiṃha – may his good fortune remain perpetual – to the honourable (Hans) Georg Krog, governor of Tranquebar (l. 3). In the year 1155 of the Suhūra sana era (A.D. 1754-1755) it should be known – seal of the peshwa registered – that the total tribute and rent in cash in Tanjore cakra being the revenue for the current year 1155, namely (l. 6).

2000,- tribute money of last year, year 1154, that is year 7,śrīmukha, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, two thousand cakras (l. 8)

1050,- rent in cash as agreed by you of the three villages belonging to the northern part of Trikaṭura district for the current year, that is year 8, bhāva, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, one thousand and fifty cakras (l. 11)

3050,- in all

plus the advance for three years, namely (l. 13)

6000,- tribute money six thousand cakras (l. 14)

2000,- for year 1155, that is year 8, bhāva, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, two thousand cakras (l. 16)

2000,- for year 1156, that is year 9, yuvan, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, two thousand cakras (l. 18)

2000,- for year 1157, that is year 10, dhātṛ, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, two thousand cakras (l. 20)

6000,- in all (l. 21)

3150,- rent in cash as agreed by you of the three villages belonging to the northern part of Trikaṭura district, three thousand one hundred and fifty cakras, namely (l. 24)

1050,- for year 1156, that is year 9, yuvan, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, one thousand and fifty cakras (l. 26)

1050,- for year 1157, that is year 10, dhātṛ, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, one thousand and fifty cakras (l. 28).

1050,- for year 1158, that is year 11, īśvara, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, one thousand and fifty cakras (l. 30)

3150,- in all (l. 31)

9150,- in all (in advance)

this sum total of 12200,- twelve thousand two hundred cakras has been received through the intermediacy of Khāva Nāika (l. 34). In agreement with the order

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from His Majesty's court, carried out by Narasiṃga Rāva, son of Anaṃda Rāu peshwa (l. 35).

seal	Approved by the king's personal secretary (l. 36).	Admitted by the registrar (l. 36).	Approved by the king's personal officer (l. 36).

Dated 2nd af Rabī' I, 17th December A.D. 1754. Entered (l. 39).	In the month of Rabī'I, attested by the king's per-sonal officer (l. 39).	the king's perso-nal secretary (l. 39).	Verified and forwarded for execution (l. 38).

Attested by the revenue records officer (l. 41).

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Document no. 6.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 20.09.1759.

śrī

Maharaja[1]

The honourable governor Kristian Frederik Høyer, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 5) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[2] havildar Baḷāji sends respectful greetings with his whole happy heart (l. 8). The reason for this (humble) petition is as follows (l. 8): After learning about the happy well-being in this place you must write continually the news of your own happy well-being (l. 10). Further, I have been summoned by His Majesty and (His) express command was (for me) to get at one and the same time your tribute for four or five years (l. 12). From the dewan letters (about that) will be arriving for you (l. 13). This has been written to inform you about this news (l. 13). We are proposing this because (the Dutch) at Nagapattinam, when asked to bring the tribute for four or five years, have agreed to it (l. 16). On this account it was said, as (I am) your mediator, to get also from Tranquebar the tribute for four or five years (l. 17); then we will give exemption for the following years (l. 18). To that I said that no European[3] goods had arrived to you and moreover, it would be difficult to give (the money) in advance because of the heavy blow received (by you) during the disturbances with Peramāḷa Nāika and the plundering (l. 21). Then His Majesty got very angry: Because of whom were there disturbances with Peramāḷa Nāika? Precisely because of (the Danes) themselves (l. 23). Then indeed their business could altogether had been nullified so that not even a loin string was left (l. 24). In brief, through my mediacy (Peramāḷa Nāika's) army had gone (l. 25). [Nevertheless the Danes joined our enemies the French soon after, provided them with gunpowder, bullets and guns; they went so far as to provide them with troops to help them capture our country] (l. 29). They had enquired about the possibility of securing some land for themselves in the middle of that (l. 30). Apart from that by those (French) one half of the goods were taken in the porttown of Nagore, and by these (Danes) the (other) half – and thus they went with all the goods (l. 32). Goods for a sum of ten lakhs of cakras were carried away (l. 32); in conformity with that an account was arranged to be written by the police officer of Nagore and

1. Applied as a respectful compellation to superiors in general.
2. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
3. *yeva* for *yavan*, it might also be for *yeva* 'advantage got'. Dr. I.M.P. Raeside suggests the emendation *yevaja* 'goods'.

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it came also repeatedly (to our knowledge) by letter from the hircarras stationed there (l. 34); it was written that many goods had been plundered from there (l. 35). Now a letter has been sent from the subahdar in Mayuram to Goḍa Rāva, that much land of our territory has been annexed (by the Danes) (l. 38). For a long time they have been enjoying the (revenue of) the dewan's land and therefore much money is due to the dewan, thus he wrote (l. 40); when Rāva told us that news about urging the payment of that debt, it was replied that there was absolutely no pressing necessity for him (to deal with that) (l. 42). It is up to the one who is acting as their mediator to tell us; that is the ordinary (procedure) for us. That was said (by His Majesty) (l. 43). To that I said that earlier on there was a bad unreliable governor[4] who in his dishonesty was doing inadmissible evil both to the company and to the dewan (l. 46). On this account he had gone and now a new governor has come (l. 47). He is a respectable person who acts (only) after considering what is proper and improper in [...] matters and is committing no injustice (l. 49). He is such as should acquire the love of the dewan (l. 50). After I had said this much, His (Majesty) then replied that whatever elsewise the dewan had said He (the king) had dealt trustfully with your (the Danes') matters (l. 52); now [we are asking for] nothing but the district revenue for four or five [years and] we shall give exemption for the tribute of years to come [...] (l. 53). Seeing that you did not [find the proposal acceptable] but had a lot to say about it, [His Majesty] got very angry and issued the order that I should relate (the case) to your agent and get him to write and send a letter about it and also I should write and get a reply (l. 56). In conformity with that your agent Paramesvara was summoned and told all the news and asked to write, send the letter and bring a reply (l. 58). (He objected that) he had himself come four to five months ago and stayed there and even to that day there had been no chance (to bring about any results) (l. 60). He pointed out that a new governor had come there (to Tranquebar) and that it was improbable that much money had fallen into his bowl (as yet) and would be at hand (for him) (l. 62); therefore he started to hesitate about what he could write and send off (l. 63). Whether it has been written by him (I) do not know and that is why the entire news has been written (here) at length (l. 65). When you have understood it properly, made your enquiry and given the money, you (will) win the sympathy of the dewan (l. 66). For the advance made, exemption for the following years will be granted (l. 67). There is no loss (implied) for you if you give the money (at once) (l. 68); on account of that, the dewan's satisfaction with you will be (quite) outstanding (l. 69). It will (prove) favourable for the company's business and lend honour both to me

4. Hans Georg Krog 1754-1759.

A contemporary translation into Danish was found in RA AsK 1357, p. 22 to 27; with the help of this an attempt at filling out the lacunae has been made.

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as mediator and also to you (l. 71). Therefore please take notice of it, (and) win sympathy by sending the money in conformity with the dewan's letter (l. 73). What more (is there) to write? (l. 73). Let there be affectionate love (between us) (l. 74). This was the matter I had to mention (l. 74).

Approved of (l. 74).

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Document no. 7.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
06.03.1762.

hu
Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore.

His Majesty King Pratāpasiṃha has the following to write to gọvernor Herman Abbestée, treasure of faithfulness, in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): Your office of mediator has been entrusted to Aruṇoji Bhoṃsale (l. 4); the above-mentioned will send a letter with some news (l. 5). When it has been considered an answer must be sent (l. 5). What more is there to write? (l. 6) Year 1162 of the Suhūra sana era, 10th of the month of Sha ʿbān (6th March A.D. 1762[1]) (l. 7).

1. As given by Svāmi-Kannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Madras 1922; Presidency of Bombay, *Chronological Tables ... 1752-1852*, Bombay 1850, gives the equivalent as 7th March A.D. 1762.

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Document no. 8.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 06.03.1762.

hu

Maharaja[1]

The honourable governor Herman Abbestée, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 4) – Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[2] Aruṇojiṃ Bhoṃsale [sends respectful greetings (1. 6). The reason for this (humble) petition is as follows:] After learning about the welfare in this place [you must write continually the news of your own happy well-being. Further, ...] (l. 9). Earlier on for the sake of the English complete hostility was created (by us) with the French (l. 10); they waged war against the court, plundered all the land, showed dishonourable conduct, caused heavy damage and with the intention of taking the fortress they were making a march on it (l. 12). [...] After the enemy had been beaten utterly, they (the French) fled from here and afterwards waged war on Madras and damaged the fortress (l. 14). At that time the relationship between the English (whom we considered to be) honest and us was one of love (l. 15). Their welfare was also our welfare, we thought, and instead of seeing to our own advantage[3] we sent to (their) help cavalry and musketeers and beat the enemy (l. 17). After that the English marched on Pondicherry (l. 18). They asked for cavalry and musketeers and therefore we dispatched the army and a victory was won after the enemy was brought to destruction (l. 19). Some considerable work was done when the army was sent to Tiruchirapalli (l. 20); in addition some help was provided (l. 20). All that must be known to you (l. 21). The English are so good and enterprising that having supported them we will be free from anxiety, thinking thus we, without considering our difficulties, aided them; they ungratefully began to wage war on us (l. 24). First when Dāyeta Mohadina Khāna and Caṃdā Khāna had come to this kingdom and recently when Monsieur Lally came (and delivered an attack) on the fortress here at that time even we did not send anybody to tell you but we alone defeated them (l. 27). Now you are our trusty friends and wellwishers of this court (l. 28), therefore (we) having informed you about the bad faith of the English you will make arrangements accordingly and act in such a way as shall benefit the court (l. 29), therefore it has been commanded that I should write (to you) at length and arrange to bring back an answer (l. 30). [...] harmless to the court [...] (l. 34). That is the matter I had to mention (l. 35).

1. See no. 6, note 1.
2. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
3. Literally 'bowl'.

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Document no. 9.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
12.03.1764.

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore.

His Majesty King Tuḷajā has given a cowle to the governor of Tranquebar, Herman Abbestée, as follows (l. 2): The cowle as granted by the deceased Majesty We have admitted as proper and granted accordingly (l. 4). With this very same cowle confirmed there should be ease (l. 5). Year 1164 of the Suhūra sana era, 9th of the month of Ramaḍān (12th March A.D. 1764[1]) (l. 6).

1. As given by the Svāmi-Kannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Madras 1922; Presidency of Bombay, *Chronological Tables... 1752-1852*, Bombay 1850, gives the equivalent as 13th March A.D. 1764.

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Document no. 10. J RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 18.03.1764.

Maharaja[1]

The honourable governor Herman Abbestée, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[2] Aruṇoji Bhosale sends respectful greetings (l. 6). The reason for this (humble) petition is as follows (l. 6): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write the news of your own happy well-being (l. 8). Further, your two European agents and Śeṣācela Seṭi who were sent off to the court with some presents[3] for His Majesty have arrived in conformity therewith and arrangements were made for them to be received in audience with His Majesty (l. 11). Moreover the presents also which were brought have been received at court (l. 12). To the agents who have come here clothes were given and sent off (l. 13). The cowle and clothes which His Majesty gave out of love and in agreement with the custom have been sent off (l. 15). You will learn in detail about other matters from Śeṣācela Seṭi (l. 16). What more (is there) to write? (l. 16) This is the matter I had to mention (l. 16).

1. See no. 6, note 1.
2. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
3. Literally 'goods'.

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Document no. 11. J RA AsK 2183 (a)
R 07.07.1764.

Maharaja[1]

The honourable governor Herman Abbestée, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[2] Haṇamaṃta Rāva Bhosale sends respectful greetings (l. 6). The reason for this (humble) petition is as follows (l. 6). After learning about the welfare in this place you must write continually the news of your own happy well-being (l. 7). Further, the office of mediator of the above-mentioned port-town has been entrusted to me by His Majesty (l. 9); a letter about that has also been written (by His Majesty) and has been sent (l. 9). When a letter concerning some business of yours arrives, then (I will see to it that) the matter will be heard and a reply will be sent most promptly (l. 11). By the court the position of warden in the province of Mayuram has been taken from Rāma Nāika and given to Peramāla Nāika (l. 12). In this connection you must continue to provide him with whatever he, in accordance with practice, is entitled to, a house in your village and provisions (in general) (l. 14). Whatever help you owe him (to carry out the job of warden) you should diligently give him (l. 15). As a fraud has been committed against the court by Rāmabhadra Piḷe, belonging to Rāma Nāika, the hircarra's police officer was sent for him (l. 16). When he was being carried off you took him into your charge; they say that you obstructed them saying to the hircarra's police officer: "Have you brought any documents? Who are you and what (are you doing?)" (l. 19). For this reason an order has been issued (from the court) to write and send off (the message) that instead of taking charge of that protegé of yours you should send him in the custody of the hircarra's police officer (l. 21). You must not make any delay in this (l. 22). What more (is there) to write? (l. 22) This is the matter I had to mention (l. 22).

1. See no. 6, note 1.
2. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 12.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 08.07.1764.

Governor [Herma]-n Abbestée, [great and] most noble man, at the Danish castle of Da-[nsbo]-rg in the port of [T]- ranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 2) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] Haṇamaṃta Rāva Bhoṃsale sends respectful greetings (l. 4). The reason for this (humble) petition is as follows (l. 4): After learning about the welfare in this place you must continually write about your own welfare (l. 5). Further, the note of hand which you sent has arrived and the contents have come to our knowledge (l. 7). According to that, the hircarra's police officers came and seized Rāmabhadra Piḷe in order to carry him away (l. 8). Then they were told that they had not brought the (necessary) documentation (l. 8); it was written (to us) that they were obstructed for that reason and therefore the order was also issued from the court and a note of hand was sent to you (l. 10). After that has been known, Rāmabhadra Piḷe should now in conformity with that be taken into custody and sent (l. 11). By him a big fraud has been committed against the court (l. 12); therefore this has been written (l. 12). What more (is there) to write? (l. 13) Rāmabhadra Piḷe must be sent promptly to the court (l. 13). What more is there to write? (l. 14) This is the matter I had to mention (l. 14).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 13. J

RA AsK 2186 (b)
Terminus a quo 00.07.1764.
Terminus ad quem 00.00.1766.

Maharaja[1]

The honourable governor Herman Abbestée, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 3) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[2] Haṇamaṃta Rāva Bhoṃsale sends respectful greetings (l. 5). The reason for this (humble) petition is as follows (l. 5): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write continually the news of your own welfare (l. 6). Further, the position of warden (held by) Peramāḷa Nāika has been taken away from him by His Majesty through the mediation of Bālāji Rāva Siṃde and entrusted to Rāma Nāika as a token of favour (l. 9). In this connection you must give him whatever possessions pertain to his position of warden and continue to deal with him respectfully in accordance with practice (l. 11). What more (is there) to write? (l. 11) This is the matter I had to mention (l. 11).

1. See note 6, no. 1.
2. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 14 J

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 11.04.1776.

The honourable governor David Brown, great and most noble man at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] Siṃvharāja Narahari Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 7). The reason for this communication is as follows (l. 8): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write continually about your own well-being (l. 9). Further, the English company has been kind enough not to forget the old affection but to consider justice and renown, and (on that basis) His Majesty the King has been (again) given charge of the kingdom in agreement with (old) custom and his coronation performed (l. 13). When hearing this news all people without exception, weak and strong[2] everywhere in the country, were very pleased (l. 15). This matter must most certainly also have been proclaimed to you (l. 16); it therefore seems most unprecedented that you, being a well-wisher to our court, have not to this day (asked to be) received in audience with His Majesty the King, as you were expected to (l. 19). Now His Majesty the King has ordered in his mercy that you come for an audience (l. 21); then you come in agreement with custom (and) will be received in audience (l. 22); that is the best (for you) (l. 22). You will learn in detail other matters from Bhima Rāva (l. 23). Where there is friendship, what more is there to write? (l. 24) Let there be affectionate love (between us) (l. 25).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
2. *abāla* for *abala* (cf. no. 15, 1.9), literally 'weak' and *vṛtdha* for *vṛddha*, literally 'old'.

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Document no. 15.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
R 11.04.1776.

śrī

Siṃvharāja Narahari [Paṃ]- ḍita [sends] his good wishes to [...] Piḷe, adorned with mighty success and always favourably disposed (l. 3). Furthermore, because of His Majesty the King ['s merits] the English company [has been kind enough] not to forget [old affection] but to consider justice and (on that basis) His Majesty the King has been (again) given charge of [the kingdom] in agreement [with custom] and his coronation performed (l. 8). When [this news] reached (them) all without exception in the country, weak and strong [everywhere] were very pleased (l. 10). This news must [most] certainly (also) have been known [to the Danish governor] nevertheless he, being a well-wisher [to our court] and having been properly informed by His Majesty the King [has not found time] to be received in audience; it seems unprecedented (l. 16) [...] it cannot go on like that, [it is not] proper to be inattentive in this way (l. 19). Now His Majesty [the King] has written a letter to the governor and ordered (him) to come for an audience (l. 22). [...] Then you should come [in the customary manner] together with the above-mentioned governor and be received in audience (l. 25). The remaining [news] you will learn in detail from [Bhi]-ma Rāva (l. 26) [What] more [is there] to be said? (l. 27) [... Siṃvharāja Narahari] Paṃḍita [...] (l. 28).

Note. Whereever possible the lacunae have been filled with the help of document no. 14.

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Document no. 16. J RA AsK 2183 (a)
R 12.05.1778.

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore.

His Majesty King Tuḷajā has the following to write to governor David Brown, treasure of faithfulness in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): the note of hand sent by you has arrived and its contents been made known (l. 4). Assistant secretary Klaumann, captain Wichmand and the dubash Taṇḍici Piḷe and others have come here, been received in audience and have delivered the present sent by you (l. 7). Since your present sent by hand of the agent was (given as a token of) favour and confidence it was approved of by us and we were very pleased to see the confidence which you (thereby showed) towards our court (l. 11). The agent was also treated by me with proper respect (l. 12). The friendship between the Danish company and us is of old standing and should not change (l. 13). Because of your behaviour your probity has become wellknown in the whole port-town area (l. 15). Even in the matters of the court of this country[1] you should go on in the customary manner and thereby please our mind (l. 17). For you a robe of honour and a diamond ring have been sent and for the councillor a robe of honour (l. 18). The topic of the customs duties of the six villages of Trikaḷāceri (district) and other matters will be known to you from what Siṃvharāja Narahari Paṃḍita writes (l. 21). What more is there to write? (l. 21).

Śrīrāmapratāpa
(name of family deity as equivalent of the king's signature) (l. 22).

1 For Sanskrit [illegible] ( ) as opposed to (your) porttown area?

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Document no. 17. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
R 12.10.1779.

The honourable governor Herman Abbestée, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 3) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] Siṃvharāja Narahari Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 6). The reason for this communication is as follows (l. 6): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write continually about your own well-being (l. 8). Further, the warden of (the district) Mayuram Rāmacedra Nāika residing in the taluk of your port-town is not willing to come to the police officer however often he has been called and given cowle (l. 11). It will certainly be known to you that he is guilty of ever so many violent oppressions on the territory of his Majesty, even of killing a man, and notwithstanding that he was within His Majesty's boundaries he carried away by force even one of His Majesty's men and tormented him in your port-town (l. 15). On top of that he has plundered and robbed the house of a merchant from Kuttalam (l. 16). It has caused us much surprise to see that you have taken care of and given protection to that man when you know that he is a malversant person guilty of malicious conduct against His Majesty (l. 18). It is very improper that the Danish people, who are well known to be just and fair and well-wishers of the court and favourable to matters pertaining to His Majesty and acting in agreement with the intentions of His Majesty the King, should with their authority give protection to a man who is guilty of malicious conduct against His Majesty (l. 23.) When earlier on[2] you were in charge of the government of the company you acted very much in favour of the matters of the court (l. 26); now when you are in charge of the government of the royal company[3] you should even more than before act favourably towards me and as regards the matters of His Majesty, win His Majesty the King's sympathy and thus increase the mutual love between the Danish people and the court (l. 31). It is improper to behave in any other way than this fitting one (l. 32). We are your friend and therefore this has been written in your interest (l. 33); it must be executed accordingly and it was said with that expectation (l. 34). Now upon the order of His Majesty the King, the court's hircarra and a police officer and one sepoy guard are sent and on the evidence of this letter you will hand over

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
2. 1761-1775.
3. In 1777 was signed the royal ordinance about the take over by the Danish crown of the administration of the Danish possessions and factories in India. In 1779 the actual take over was effected and Herman Abbestée installed as the new company's first governor. He retired in 1788.

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Rāmacedra Nāika to them (l. 38); all topics regarding him will be considered and the arrangement about his position of warden (l. 40). Whatever opposition is made by you in this matter will amount to an act of hostility against the court (l. 41). It is written in agreement with the order from the King that it is not fitting for you to bring about a serious aversion against you in the mind of His Majesty the King (l. 44). You are (too) wise for that (l. 45). What more is there to write? (l. 45) Let there be affectionate love (between us) (l. 46).

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Document no. 18. J RA AsK 2183 (b)
31.12.1779.

The honourable governor Herman Abbestée, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] Siṃvharāja Narahari Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 7). The reason for this communication is as follows (l. 8): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write continually about your own well-being (l. 9). Further, His Majesty the King was very pleased to hear the news that after the death of your dubash Taṃḍāci Piḷe you have appointed his brother Apu Piḷe to his post (l. 13); so now all correspondence with the court should be carried out in the customary way by the hand of the above-mentioned Piḷe (l. 15). At present there is in the government a pressing need for some money (l. 16). For the credit which you may give a bond will be written and at the term fixed for payment we will give the money (back) in the proper way (l. 19). This has been written to you upon the order of His Majesty to do so (l. 21). By assisting with this you will gain particular sympathy from His Majesty (l. 23). (I am convinced that) you will do as written by us on account of your benevolence towards the court and our friendship, that is why it was written (l. 25). You will learn in detail about other matters from the deputy (l. 26). As a token of his friendliness towards you His Majesty has sent a gift of clothes and one horse and for Mr. Lichtenstein clothes (l. 29). You must accept these things in the customary manner (l. 30). Where there is friendship, what more is there to write? (l. 30) Let there be affectionate love (between us) (l. 31).

List: Detailed account of the clothes which have been forwarded (l. 33).

1 turban embroidered with gold, as bright as the moon.[2]
1 large white cloth, as bright as the moon.[2]
2 striped shawl pieces, as bright as the moon,[2] being parts of a set of two.
1 completely unfolded cloth with flowery work.
5 items (l. 39).

Besides the following clothes are forwarded for Mr. Lichtenstein (l. 41):

1 turban embroidered with gold, as bright as the moon.[2]
1 large white cloth, as bright as the moon.[2]
2 items (l. 44).

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, great and most noble man, the

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
2. *mahatābi*, literally 'as bright as the moon'; it may, however, just be the technical term for some type of cloth.

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honourable governor Herman Abbestée at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 47).

(Dated) 22nd of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah year (11)80 in the Suhūra sana era (31st December A.D. 1779) (l. 49).

Seal
of the
sender

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Document no. 19. J RA AsK 2183 (a) 2

24.12.1784.

His Majesty King Tuḷajā has the following to write to governor Herman Abbestée, treasure of faithfulness, in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): The letter dated the 15th day of the month of Kārttika (26th November A.D.) 1784 which you sent me by the hand of dubash Tānāsi Piḷe has arrived and it gave us much pleasure to read it (l. 6). (Our) accounts with you of money both borrowed and lent have all been settled until the year śobhakṛt (year 36 or 37) in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (A.D. 1782 or 1783[1]) (l. 7); whatever money we have owed (that) has all been given to dubash Tānāsi Piḷe and (your) receipt for it has been received too (l. 9). For the tribute and the other money you have sent us as revenues for the year śobhakṛt the receipt bearing our seal has been forwarded (l. 10). We were very pleased with what you wrote (as a token) of continued friendship (l. 12). You are very well esteeemed (by us) and (known to be) exceedingly eager for our affection and therefore we look with much favour upon your high virtues and upon your port-town (l. 14). Therefore, when you see that our friendly relations will continue and increase there should be confidence (for you) concerning everything (l. 16). For you a present of clothes has been sent (l. 17); by accepting it in the customary way always to be continued you will bring satisfaction to our mind; so please do so (l. 18). Where there is friendship, what more (is there) to write? (l. 19).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity
as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 19).

To be forwarded to governor Herman Abbestée, treasure of faithfulness, in the port of Tranquebar (l. 22). The 11th day of the lunar month of Ṣafar year 1199 in the Hegira era (24th December A.D. 1784) (l. 24).

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore

1. As the name for the two consecutive years is the same, it may cover here either the first, 1782, or the second, 1783. In all probability the latter is meant. There is also the possibility that it refers to the full period of two years, 'until' meaning 'through'.

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Document no. 20. J RA AsK 2183 (d)
18.05.1786.

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore

His Majesty King Tuḷajā has the following to write to governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): The bag with the letter of the 20th day of the lunar month of Jumādā I year 1200 in the Hegira era (21st March A.D. 1786) which you sent us has arrived and it gave us much pleasure to read the contents (l. 5). In return for a rent in cash we have given you fourteen villages of Tiravaḍakali district and after the settlement was reached about the loan from you both the bond and the contract have been sent from here to you by the hand of (your) agent (l. 7). Upon their arrival and after you have taken possession of the villages of the district according to the specification you have sent 32500 star pagodas together with the general clearance of accounts in conformity with the bond (l. 9). We have received the money according to the specification and that has given us great pleasure (l. 10). Out of this year's rent in cash for the fourteen villages in Tiravaḍakali district given to you a remainder of 5541-4[1] has in the presence of the agent been found to be due after we have considered and made whatever deductions should be made to you in agreement with what is proper (l. 14). It will be known to you from the account of the above-mentioned agent (l. 15). Since we are at the present moment in need of money please send us in the customary manner and quickly both the remainder of the rent in cash according to specification and also this year's tribute (l. 17). On account of your sympathy for us and your great goodness and conduct agreeable to us a present of clothes for you has been sent by the hand of (your) agent (l. 19); please make us content by receiving it with proper respect in the customary way (l. 20). You should be satisfied and confident to learn that our noble feelings for your port-town as well as for you will always be entire (l. 22). You will learn about other matters from the statement of the above-mentioned agent (l. 23). Where there is friendship, what more is there to write? (l. 23).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity
as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 23).

To be forwarded to the treasure of faithfulness, governor, major-general Her-

1. A contemporary translation into Danish renders this as 5541 pagodas $9\frac{13}{16}$ fanams.

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man Abbestée, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 25).

Dispatch of the 19th (day) of the lunar month of Rajab year 1200 in the Hegira era (18th May A.D. 1786) (l. 27). Endorsed, at the port of Tranquebar in the (40.) year parābhava by name in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, 22nd [...] of the month of Vaiśākha (1st June A.D. 1786) (l. 29).

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Document no. 21. J RA AsK 2183 (d)
18.05.1786.

Maharaja[1]

Governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 6) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[2] Raghunātha Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 8). The reason for this communication is as follows (l. 9): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write continually about your own well-being (l. 9). Further, the bags with letters for us sent in two portions, one letter of the 8th (day) of the lunar month Rabi ʿII year 1200 in the Hegira era (8th February A.D. 1786), and one letter of the 20th (day) of the lunar month of Jumādā I year 1200 in the Hegira era (21st March A.D. 1786) have arrived and after having read the contents I have also informed His Majesty about them (l. 12). From early times you are, as regards matters of the government, in one mind (with us) in your behaviour (l. 14). Having agreed also to that petition from His Majesty, you have been praised by us as much as can be (l. 15); thereupon His Majesty was filled with so much happiness that it defies description (l. 16). Against the loan of some money to our government from you, the bond and contract etc. were earlier sent to you from here (l. 18); you have received these and also taken possession of the fourteen villages of Tiravaḍakali district (l. 19). Also the 32500 star-pagodas, the revenue of the bond together with the general clearance of accounts, have been supplied and sent and the money according to specification has been brought to the government by the agent (l. 21). The fourteen villages of the Tiravaḍakali district have been given to you against a rent in cash so that out of this year's money, nine thousand cakras, a remainder of 5541-4[3] is left after whatever deductions which could be made to you in agreement with the contract have been made under the inspection of the agent, that you will learn (l. 27). Since you are a well-wisher to our government and (known to be) very good and also because of our friendship and your agreement to the petition of His Majesty, a present of clothes has been sent by the hand of the agent (l. 29). When they have arrived at your place and you have received them with proper respect in the customary way, please send to the government the rest of the rent in cash of the villages in Tiravaḍakali district as well as this year's tribute (l. 32). The (money) should be supplied and sent to His Majesty in a hurry (l. 33). Because of your friendship we will further any matter of yours at the court

1. See no. 6, note 1.
2. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
3. See no. 20, note 1.

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(l. 34); about this you should be certain (l. 35). About some other matters you will be informed from what the agent tells you (l. 36). Let there be affectionate love (between us) (l. 36). What more is there to write? (l. 37).

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar- may his favour remain perpetual (l. 39) – Dispatch of the 19th (day) of the lunar month of Rajab year 1200 in the Hegira era (18th May A.D. 1786) (l. 41).

Endorsed at the port of Tranquebar in the (40.) year parābhava by name in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter [...] 22nd [...] of the month of Vaiśākha (27th May A.D. 1786) (l. 43).

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Document no. 22: J

RA AsK 2183 (d)
30.10.1786.

Governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] Raghunātha Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 8). The reason for this communication is as follows (l. 8): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write continually about your own well-being (l. 9). Further, the bags with letters of the 14th (day) in the lunar month of Sha^c bān year 1200 in the Hegira era (12th June A.D. 1786), which you sent to His Majesty and to me, have arrived on the 20th (day) in the lunar month of Sha^cbān (18th June) and they were read and explained at court so that there was satisfaction with you (l. 12). Out of the rent in cash for the villages in Tiravaḍakali district which should have come a remainder was left (l. 13); by the hand of the agent all the money, the sum of 5541 cakras 4[2] was sent by you and reached the government in time against the general clearance of accounts for last year (l. 16). You were told in a letter that it was absolutely necessary that you send the tribute money for last year (l. 18); even to this day you are delaying the sending of the money according to specification (l. 18). Now for you a bag with a letter and a present of clothes have been sent from the court as has also the receipt carrying the seal for last years tribute money, all by the hand of the agent and the government's hircarra (l. 21). The moment you in the customary manner with proper respect have received the letter, clothes and receipt, there must be an end of (your) delaying (l. 22); You must send the tribute money so as to reach the court in a hurry (l. 23). Because of your friendship we will further any matter of yours at the court (l. 25). About this you should be certain (l. 25). About the rest of the news you will be informed from what the agent tells you (l. 26). Let there be affectionate love (between us) (l. 26). What more is there to write? (l. 27).

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 30) –

Dispatch of the 7th (day) of the lunar month of Muḥarram year 12(0)1 in the Hegira era (30th October A.D. 1786) (l. 32). Arrived at the port of Tranquebar on the 15th (day) of the lunar month of Muḥarram year 120(1) in the Hegira era (7th November A.D. 1786), 25th [...] in the month of Āśvina in the (40.) year parābhava by name in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter [...] (l. 34).

Seal of
the sender

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
2. See no. 20, note 1.

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Document no. 23. J RA AsK 2183 (b)

05.10.1787.

His Majesty King Amarasiṃha has the following to write to governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): Earlier on Mr. Walter came to the court and in our presence he was told certain things concerning the matter of Trimala Rāya, a banker of our court (l. 6). To that he replied that he would go back to the port-town and as soon as he got there he would inform the governor (about the matters); he would send everything in conformity with what we had told (him) (l. 8); to this day two or three months later, no answer whatsoever has arrived regarding those matters (l. 9). Afterwards we went out on a tour of (our) territory and during a stop at Mayuram your dubash Dānāsi Piḷe and Subramhaṇi Seṭi both having come (to us) while dismissing them we mentioned the business of Trimala Rāya (l. 13). The dubash must have let you know of this but in spite of this you have procrastinated so much that there has not even been a reply to that (l. 15). Thereupon upon my orders Trimala Rāya wrote one letter to you and one to your dubash and one to his agent Śeṣācela Seṭi explaining at length and from start to finish that he should not offend against the merchants' principles. It was written and sent to you (l. 19), but instead of casting an eye upon the misdeeds of Śeṣācela Seṭi and sending him (to us), your dubash Dānāsi Piḷe had only written some excuses to Trimala Rāya (l. 21). Hitherto Trimala Rāya's and Suṃkarāma Seṭi's shop's bonds etc. worth lakhs in Pondicherry were by the grandson of Suṃka Śeṣācela Seṭi, Śeṣācela by name, deposited with Jaladu Sadāsiva Seṭi to conceal them from the others (l. 25); by that Sadāsiva Seṭi the Śeṣācela Seṭi of Tranquebar was informed that his own and his Drākṣābāla Seṭi's certificates were among them (l. 27). To this Sadāsiva Seṭi (they) agreed to pay a bribe, so as to send him to that Sukavāra's son in Pondicherry and give him (certain) directions in order to seize Śeṣācela's and Drākṣābāla's certificates (l. 30). After the news was known here (in Tanjore) that Sadāsiva Seṭi had been sent to Pondicherry to commit the deceit and seize those certificates (l. 32), the rumour came that Sadāsiva Seṭi on his journey to Pondicherry was to go to Trivaṃga[1] (l. 33). After these things had become clear to our people there, they went out to seize (Sadāsiva) to carry him away in agreement with the order issued by us. (l. 35). In that place (Sadāsiva Seṭi) left his advocate behind and threw away his palanquin and other things, fled and reached Tranquebar (l. 36). His advocate and the palanquin were brought to Kumbakonam and after he had been imprisoned he gave a written report, in the presence of four merchants, of the events which had passed (l. 39). All this has been written to you in detail by our sarakhela

1. In no. 24,1. 49-50 and no. 25, 1. 43 the place is called Trivaṃgāḍi.

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Sivarāya's brother Śaṃkara Rāya (l. 40). You should consider that carefully and send to the court under severe watch Śeṣācela Seṭi and Sadāsiva Seṭi along with the hircarra's police-officers (l. 42). And from now on it is improper for you to display any slackness concerning this (l. 43). You have been trading for many years under our protection and up to this day in a proper way (l. 45). Also in future you must behave like that (l. 45). In case you postpone (this), knowing full well that those bad people committing such deceits have also earlier on been guilty of cheating your company in its affairs in Trikaḷāceri, etc., you are doing double-dealing, that is very fine indeed (l. 49). But as soon as you see this letter you should seize both the Seṭis and send them to the court (l. 50). If for some reason or other you do not send (them), then you yourself will have to be held responsible (to pay the money which) both the two Śeṭis are urged to pay (l. 51). We have no pressing need for those servants – not a single step yonder from that (l. 53).[2] You have got to make an answer to that (l. 53). This letter has been written as a very important one (l. 54). On account of that you should in agreement with what was written, the very moment you read it, seize both of them and send them (to us) (l. 55).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity
as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 55).

To governor Herman Abbesteeée, major-general, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 57).

Dispatch of the 22nd day of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah year [...] 01 in the Hegira era, 5th October A.D. 1787 (l. 61).

2. A similar turn of phrase occurs in no. 24. Judging from the context here and there, it seems that the turn of phrase in question should have been inserted in the previous sentence rather than in the actual one.

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Document no. 24. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
05.10.1787.

Governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] Śaṃkarāji Saṃbhāji sends respectful greetings (l. 6). The reason for this communication is as follows (l. 6): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write continually about your own well-being (l. 7). Further, in connection with the Śeṣācela Śeṭi (affair) Mr. Walter came here to the court and in the presence of His Majesty the King was told many things (l. 9) and afterwards His Majesty the King went out on a tour (of the country) and then Tānāsi Piḷe and Subramhaṇi Seṭi came and made a stop at Mayuram (l. 11). Also at that time an express command was made to send Śeṣācela Śeṭi here (l. 12); in spite of that you did not send him (l. 13); up to this day you are delaying sending and it is improper that he is (not) sent here (l. 14). It is definitely improper to be delaying in this way a matter which His Majesty the King has asked (to be dealt with) (l. 16). Earlier on the above-mentioned Seṭi has at the time of your predecessor caused some trouble in the affairs of your company in connection with the Trikaḷāceri (matters) (l. 18). All this will be known to you (l. 18). It will create great aversion against you in the mind of His Majesty the King that you know these dishonourable circumstances and yet give shelter to that person and let him stay (with you) instead of arranging for him to be sent (to us) (l. 21). When you have understood this properly you must not be delaying any more but must send Śeṣācela Seṭi under strict custody along with the hircarra's police-officers (l. 23). On top of this, a citizen in Pondicherry Jaladu Sadāsiva has for the last 8 to 10 years taken shelter with you (in Tranquebar) and is making his living by trade (l. 26). A citizen of Pondicherry, Suṃka Śeṣācela Śeṭi's grandson, Śeṣācela by name, has for security's sake placed all the bonds and documents, worth lakhs, of the government's banker Trimala Rāya's shop etc. in Pondicherry with that Jaladu Sadāsiva Seṭi in Tranquebar because of the unrest in Pondicherry (l. 30). When (these things) reached Sadāsiva Seṭi he committed a deceit (l. 31); from the documents he took out the certificates of the debtloaded Śeṣācela Śeṭi of Tranquebar and of Drāṃkṣābāla Seṭi. After having taken these two (things) (l. 33) he told Śeṣācela Seṭi and Drāṃkṣā Māpiḷe Seṭi that their certificates were with him (l. 34). Now to follow up, (Sadāsiva Seṭi) said he would give the certificates of those two in return for a bribe for himself (l. 36). This he said through a man by the name Adaṃjura Apāsāmi from our region (l. 37). Then Śeṣācela Śeṭi agreed to the idea of giving Sadāsiva Seṭi a lot of money as bribe (l. 38).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Sadāsiva Seṭi said that he would arrange for the certificates of both of them to come (into) their (own hands) when he was sent to Pondicherry and would give some (money) to Suṃkavāra after having instructed him (in the details of the matter) (l. 43). That news reached Trimala Rāya in detail from Suṃka Śeṣācela Mā in Pondicherry and the man named Ahaṃjura[2] Apāsāmi and Trimala Rāya informed His Majesty the King and myself (l. 46). So the order was issued to the head-collector of the districts of Mayuram and Shiyali to send Sadāsiva Seṭi here after having seized him on the road when he was coming to Pondicherry from Tranquebar (l. 48). In agreement with that, when Sadāsiva Seṭi was departing for Pondicherry and stopped at Triṃvaṃgāḍi our people went there to seize him (l. 50). Then he fled, and his palanquin and his advocate and some articles of (his) goods, all these things fell into (our) hands (l. 52). Only he (succeeded in) escaping (l. 52); the rest, all the goods were seized and sent to Kumbakonam by our head-collector and taken possession of by Trimala Rāya (l. 54). Now that Sadāsiva Seṭi is in Tranquebar and his advocate has given a written report about everything which happened subsequently (l. 55). Among the goods fallen into (our) hands some instruments have also fallen into (our) hands (l. 56). And now after having placed both Sadāsiva Seṭi and Śeṣācela Seṭi in strict custody you must immediately make a dispatch and send them along with the hircarras and police-officers sent by us (l. 59). You yourself will have to be held responsible for (the money) they are urged to pay, if in some way or other the above-mentioned Śeṭi goes a single step yonder from there (l. 61) it will cause much pain also in the mind of His Majesty the King (l. 62). On that account you should dispatch the two Seṭis the moment you have seen (this) letter (l. 63). About this His Majesty the King has written a letter to you and I have likewise been told to write (this) letter to you (l. 64). Upon (all) that, you should act swiftly in agreement with what has been written (l. 65). (You) must not act contrary to the affairs of His Majesty the King (l. 66). Confident (that you won't do that), may there be continued increased (prosperity) for yourself and your port-town (l. 67). You know everything, there is no pressing necessity to add any particular point to that (l. 68). What more (is there) to write? (l. 69).

Governor Herman Abbestée, major general, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 71) –

Dispatch of the 2-[...] day of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah year [...]-ol in the Hegira era, [...] October A.D. [...] (l. 75).

Seal
of the
sender

2. The same as Adaṃjura.

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Document no. 25. J

RA AsK 2183 (d)
00.10.1787.

(To)[1] Mr. Walter – may the great God protect you – Śaṃkarāji Saṃbhāji sends respectful greetings (l. 2).

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, after learning the satisfaction in this place it is necessary that the sahib writes continually the news of his own satisfaction and well-being (l. 5). Further, earlier on you have come to the court on the topic of Śeṣācela Śeṭi and in the presence of His Majesty the King you have been told certain things about the court's banker Trimala Rāya's business (l. 7); in this connection I went to the port-town and as soon as I reached there I talked to the governor (l. 8). You had said that you would send the above-mentioned Seṭi here (l. 9). Afterwards your dubash Subramhṇi Seṭi and Tānāsi Piḷe have both made a stop at Mayuram (l. 10). To both those two ever so much was told about sending Seṣācela Śeṭi here, also at that time in the presence of His Majesty the King (l. 12). After that two to three months have passed (l. 13); we do not know whether you are informed or not (about this) up to this day (l. 14). It is not good with such a display of delaying concerning a matter His Majesty the King has told you (to deal with) (l. 15); about this matter His Majesty the King has written and sent one letter to governor Abbestée (l. 17); upon the order to do so likewise we have written (one letter) to governor Abbestée and (this) one letter to yourself (l. 18). In agreement with what is written in the letter you should make a dispatch and send off Śeṣācela Śeṭi under severe watch along with the hircarra's police-officers sent by us (l. 20). A citizen of Pondicherry hitherto living in your port-town, by name Jaladu Sadāsiva Seṭi, has for the last 8 to 10 years been carrying on trade (l. 22); with this Jaladu Sadāsiva Seṭi in Tranquebar the documents and bonds, etc. of Apāji Nilakaṃta Suṃkarāma Seṭi's shop in Pondicherry and elsewhere were placed because of the unrest which had been going on – and out of affection – by (the transaction of a man) called Śeṣācela, grandson of Suṃka Śeṣācela Seṭi, dwelling in Pondicherry (l. 26). Then Jaladu Sadāsiva Seṭi committed a deceit, split open the package containing the accounts, certificates, etc., and having looked into it took out the bonds of the debtloaded Śeṣācela Śeṭi and of Drāṃkṣābāla Śeṭi (l. 29) these two (sets of) documents, and told both those Śeṭis that their bonds were with him (l. 31); after Śeṣācela Śeṭi had considered the future development he decided now for the present dealings to give Sadāsiva Seṭi some bribe in order to get out his own and Drāṃkṣābāla Seṭi's certificates (l. 33). Through the mouths of Drākṣā Māpiḷe Seṭi and a citizen by the name of Adajura Apāsāmi from the province of Mayuram it was discussed and Sadāsiva

1. For the literal translation of (*i* and) *aji* see word index. It seems that the meaning of *aji* was not quite clear to the scribe. He may have mixed it with *aṃki* 'as follows'.

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agreed to it (l. 36). He should himself go to Pondicherry and make the situation clear to Suṃka Śeṣācela Mā and persuade him somehow or other to agree to give their certificates (l. 37). When he was departing for Pondicherry the news about his going came in detail to the knowledge of our banker here, Trimala Rāya and it was passed on by him to His Majesty the King and to me (l. 40). We made an order to the head-collector of the province of Mayuram to seize Sadāsiva Seṭi who was going from Tranquebar to Pondicherry (l. 42). In conformity with that the rumour spread that Sadāsiva was going to Pondicherry and had arrived at Trivaṃgāḍi (l. 43) When the head-collector of our (province of) Mayuram learned that, he went to seize him (l. 44). Then Sadāsiva Seṭi fled to Tranquebar (l. 45). The rest, his agent and palanquin and some of his goods, these things all fell into (our) hands and were placed under custody by the head-collector of Mayuram and in Kumbakonam taken possession of by Trimala Rāya (l. 47). His advocate, who had fallen into (our) hands, was carried away by force and when he was told to explain diligently what further had happened (l. 48) he gave a written detailed report about everything in connection with the deceit committed by Sadāsiva Seṭi, and among his goods some instruments are in (our) hands (l. 50). New both Śeṣācela Seṭi and Sadāsiva Seṭi are in Tranquebar and therefore hircarras and a police-officer have now been sent from the government so that the two Seṭis can be sent into custody along with them (l. 53). If even today a hitch is created in a matter ordered by His Majesty the King, what can be said (= we cannot guarantee for the reaction) (l. 54). Now, as soon as you see the letter, the two (Seṭis) must be sent (l. 55). Absolutely everything in this connection has been written in detail by us to your dubash Subramhṇi Seṭi and you will be informed at length by him (l. 57). What more (is there) to write? (l. 57).

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Document no. 26. J RA AsK 2183 (d)
10.12.1787.

His Majesty King Amarasiṃha has the following to write to governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): One bag with a letter for us of the 5th (day) of the lunar month of Muḥarram (17th October A.D. 1787) plus the tribute for last year, 3150 cakras, sent by the hand of a couple of hircarras, have arrived (l. 5); moreover one bag with a letter of the 26th (day) of the lunar month of Muḥarram (7th November A.D. 1787) as well as one letter in Tamil characters plus one bag with a letter of the 11th (day) of the lunar month of Ṣafar (22nd November A.D. 1787), that is four letters in all sent portionwise, have arrived by the hand of the dubash Dāniśa Pile and the entire contents understood (l. 9). We were satisfied with the sending of last year's tribute, 3150 cakras, together with the general clearing of accounts (l. 10). We have heard that because of some matter your mind has been overcome by problems (l. 11); from now on there is no pressing necessity for you to enquire about anything (l. 12). Both our deceased (father) the great King and our brother (the late) King Tuḷajā have shown so much affection regarding the port-town of the Danish people (l. 15), and in the same manner we are going to continue to show affection as we have been doing to this day concerning every matter of your port-town (l. 17); when you have trustfully understood this you should feel free from suspicion (l. 18); in this there shall never occur at any time even a slight change (l. 19).

Śeṣācela Seṭi and the dubash Dāniśa Piḷe have come and for the above-mentioned Seṭi[1] we shall with much care arrange a speedy settlement of the lawsuit in agreement with what is proper after having appointed four mediators as deputies of the reputable bankers, Bhukaṇajis and the Bhudarajis[2], in this place (l. 23). Concerning this there is no pressing necessity to have any worries (l. 24). The inhabitants of Tranquebar have in big numbers gone out of that place and come into our territory (l. 26). We have told some things to the priest Mr. Schwartz, to get them to go by (your) giving them satisfaction through issuing a cowle (l. 28); you will be informed by what he writes to you (l. 28). When you have sent the cowle by the hand of Mr. Schwartz and we have made a strong injunction to the inhabitants (of Tranquebar), we shall send them all together with some of our people (l. 30). Our noble feelings for the port-town of the Danish people as well as for you will always be entire, that you should

1. The name means 'merchant', 'banker', 'trader', 'chief merchant' and was the common appellation of a trader from the Coromandel Coast.
2. Thurston lists them both as cultivators, cf. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. III, p. 222-223 and vol I, p. 224-225, Madras 1909.

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feel certain about (l. 32). Where there is friendship, what more is there to write? (l. 33).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity
as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 33).

To be forwarded to governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 35).

(Dated) the 29th (day) of the lunar month of Şafar year 1202 in the Hegira era (10th December A.D. 1787) (l. 38).

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore.

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Document no. 27. J RA AsK 2183 (d)
00.12.1787.

To the priest, Mr. Schwartz, many greetings are sent by Sivarāya (l. 2). Moreover, in accordance with what you yourself said, a letter from the honourable Mahārāja to the governor of Tranquebar, Abbestée, has been written, made ready and sealed (l. 4). The sealed letter has been put into a bag and sent to you by messenger (l. 5); you must see to it that it is handed over to the interpreter, Dāniye Pile, and brought to Tranquebar (l. 7). In order that the inhabitants of Tranquebar may go from here, you had been told that a warrant from governor Abbestée should be produced (l. 9). Get that done and the rest of the (Tranquebar) inhabitants will go (home from here) (l. 10). Where there is friendship, what need is there of writing more? (l. 11) Many greetings (l. 11). To be forwarded to the priest Mr. Schwartz (l. 13).

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Document no. 28. J RA AsK 2183 (d)
24.12.1787.

His Majesty King Amarasiṃha has the following to write to governor Herman Abbestée, major-general, treasure of faithfulness in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): By the hand of the priest, Mr. Schwartz the cowle carrying your seal was sent to your inhabitants who have come here and dwell on our territory, that they may all in trust come (back) to you (l. 5); the cowle, being according to specification, we were very satisfied to read (l. 6). In conformity with the cowle written by you, the inhabitants being pardoned for whatever offence that they may have committed should be dealt with in agreement with what is proper (l. 8). On this account the priest, Mr. Schwartz has been appointed mediator for them and he is coming to you together with our hircarras (l. 10). We are full af trust that you will listen carefully to the purport of what the inhabitants have to say, and decide in such a reasonable way that they may be satisfied (l. 12). If in some way or other the priest Mr. Schwartz has to come back here quickly because of some matter then we shall also be satisfied with his brother (missionary) called John to go there in his place (l. 15). You should feel confident to learn that our noble feelings for the port-town of the Danish people as well as for you will always be entire (l. 17). Where there is friendship, what more is there to write? (l. 17).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity
as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 17).

To be forwarded to governor Herman Abbestée, treasure of faithfulness, major-general, Tranquebar (l. 19).

Dispatch of the 14th (day) of the lunar month of Rabī ᶜI year 1202 in the Hegira era (24th December A.D. 1787[1]) (l. 22).

Seal of the King
of Tanjore

1. As given by Svāmi-Kannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Madras 1922; Presidency of Bombay, *Chronological Tables... 1752-1852*, Bombay 1850, gives the equivalent as 25th December A.D. 1787.

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Document no. 29.

RA AsK 2183 (d)
06.05.1788.

śrī

To the honourable governor of the Danish port-town of Tranquebar (l. 2). To you adorned with mighty success and honoured by kings, the most affectionate minister Mādhava Rāva Nārāyeṇa sends many greetings (l. 6). Furthermore, after learning about the well-being in this place as matters were up to the 1st (day) of Vaiśākha Śuddha (6th May) you should write repeatedly (to us) the news about yourself and your king (l. 8). Moreover, your reputation is that you have harmed nobody and that during the trouble with Hyder Ali you have done very much for the protection[1] of the Brahmins of the court of Tanjore (l. 11). This news was brought to the knowledge of (our) court by the agency of Monsieur Narana and Monsieur Motina[2], vakils of Pondicherry, and we were highly pleased thereby (l. 12). That is why vakil Rāmacaṃdra Rāva Nāgeśa has been sent (l. 14). As we intend next year to send a body of troops against Phate Āli[3] there must not be any inclination for you to send assistance to him (l. 15) but you must agree readily to every single matter regarding the court of Tanjore (l. 16). Moreover, there should be constant affection between your king and us (l. 17). If you need it, a site for a factory at Revadaṃḍā on the western coast south of Bombay could be given to you (l. 19). There should be mutual honouring of habitual friendly relations (l. 20). The report of some such things you will learn from what the above-mentioned Rāva tells you (l. 21). In short, there should be friendly relations between you and us (l. 22). (Our) government's body of troops intend to come to the Carnatic after the Dusserah (l. 23); then it will be arranged that more land is given to you since you have only a small territory (l. 24). What more (is there) to write? (l. 25) Let there be affection (between us) (l. 25).

Year 1188 in the Suhūra sana era, dispatch of the 30th (day) of the lunar

1. The reading is no doubt *sarvakṣaṇa* 'always'; as pointed out by professor S.G. Tulpule this is probably an incorrect spelling of *saṃrakṣaṇa* 'protection' which is also the interpretation of a contemporary translation into Danish.
2. Perhaps Monsieur de Montigny, French resident in Poona until May 1788. Cf. V.G. Hatalkar, *Relations between the French and the Marathas 1668-1815*, Bombay 1958, p. 262.
3. Phate Āli must according to Dr. I.M.P. Raeside of SOAS be identical with Phate Alikhan, i.e. Tipu Sultan. The translator responsible for the contemporary rendering of this letter into Danish was not aware of this identity; he read *pestara* as *pesgara* and translated '(We march against) Pesgar Patte Aly'. Mr. Y.N. Kelkar of Poona was unable to identify this Āli.

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(month) of Rajab (6th May A.D. 1788) (l. 26). Let this be known. Writing border (l. 27).

To the honourable Danish governor adorned with mighty success and honoured by kings, at the porttown of Tranquebar (l. 30).

(to)[4] His Excellence
King Śāhu
Lord of Men,
Treasure of Joy, Mādhava Rāva
Nārāyaṇa, Prime
Minister (l. 36).

4. That is Mādhava Rāva Nārāyaṇa, Prime Minister to King Śāhu.

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Document no. 30. J

RA AsK 2183 (d)
07.09.1788.

His Majesty King Amarasiṃha has the following to write to governor Peter Anker, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg, Tranquebar (l. 3). It gave us much satisfaction to hear that you had gone to Madras and have safely come back to Tranquebar (l. 5). From early on loans were taken from your port-town to our court, that must be known also to you (l. 7); now we are in a strong need of money and that is why our minister Sivarāva Saṃbhāji has been sent to you (l. 9). There will be much satisfaction in our mind if you listen to what he tells you, and following our wish give and send off in haste one lakh of (star-)pagodas (l. 11). If you do not show any slackness in supplying and sending one lakh of (star-) pagodas we shall never forget you(r gesture) (l. 13). We are absolutely certain that you will do as written by us since you (are and have) always been a well-wisher of our court (l. 15). Therefore you should also feel completely certain that our sympathy and noble feelings for your Danish port-town will be entire (l. 17). A gift of clothes as bright as the moon[1] plus a medal and a horse have been sent (l. 19); please bring satisfaction to our mind by accepting them in the customary way with proper respect (l. 20). Sivarāva Saṃbhāji will inform you about all the remaining news (l. 21); please act accordingly (l. 21). Where there is friendship, what more is there to write? (l. 22).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity
as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 22).

To governor Peter Anker, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg, Tranquebar (l. 24).

Dispatch of the 6th (day) of the lunar (month) of Dhū al-Ḥijjah year 1202 in the Hegira era (7th September A.D. 1788) (l. 26).

1. Cf. no. 18, note 2.

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Document no. 31. J

RA AsK 2186 (a) 2
22.09.1788.

(His Majesty) King Amarasiṃha has the following to write to governor Peter Anker, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): With the intention of getting a loan from you of one lakh of star-pagodas sarakhela Sivarāva was sent to you (l. 5); after he has got the message that you would agree to give 60,000[1] star-pagodas he was sent (back) and after a safe journey he came here last night with a present for us from you consisting of one pair (l. 7) of pistols (...)[2] and two whole pieces of broadcloth and the quit-rent tribute money for last year, one thousand three hundred and fifteen star-pagodas (l. 10); when all these things were delivered to us, your intentions have all been made clear to me by Sivarāva and it gave me much satisfaction (to learn them) (l. 12). Following your wish we have agreed to [give you as a pledge] the revenue district of Trivaḍakali for 12 years starting from this year (l. 14). To negotiate some other affairs our advocate Rahamata Khāna has been sent to you as a matter of urgency (l. 16). This above-mentioned Khāna will make clear to you all our intentions (l. (17); you should listen to them and agree to follow our wish and lend us one lakh of pagodas (l. 19) out of which eighty thousand will be delivered in Madras (l. 20); after having obtained information about the revenue of the district (you) should send the balance, twenty thousand pagodas in cash and there will be a gain of satisfaction in our mind (l. 21). Since you are a well-wisher to us you will certainly bring about satisfaction in agreement with our wish (l. 23); we are properly confident about that (l. 24). There is no need to doubt that we will give you for twelve years as interest rent of as much as twelve thousand pagodas per year and the villages in Trikaṭura district and Trikalāceri district as well as some more villages if you lend (us) the lakh pagodas (l. 27). What this above-mentioned Khāna will say is in agreement with our order (l. 29); after having understood that, you should in haste, after a matter of one day, send off Tānāci Piḷe and the above-mentioned Khāna (l. 31). Where there is friendship, what more (is there) to write? (l. 31).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity
as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 31).

To be forwarded to governor Peter Anker, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 33).

1) Governor Peter Anker first agreed to lend 60,000 star-pagodas; it is clear from the following that the King of Tanjore had not given up the hope of getting a bigger loan; in the end the governor agreed to lend 80,000 star-pagodas.
2) The meaning of the text 1.8 is not clear and it has therefore not been rendered.

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Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore

Dispatch of the 21st (day) of the lunar month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, seven o'clock in the night, 22nd September A.D. 1788 (f. 36).

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Document no. 32 J RA AsK 2186 (a) 2

03.09.1791.

Maharaja[1]

Governor Peter Anker, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg, Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 5) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[2] Sivarāva Saṃbhāji Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 8) The reason for this communication is as follows (l. 8): After learning about the welfare in this place you must make (us) happy by writing continually about your own well-being (l. 9). Further, since not a single letter from you has arrived here, there is no satisfaction in our mind (l. 10). From now on you should instead write about the news of satisfaction in your place (l. 11). As the tribute money for last year (11)91 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1790-1791) 2500, two and a half thousand, cakras are due to be paid to the government (l. 13), His Majesty has sent by the hand of a couple of hircarras one receipt for the money according to specification and for yourself a dress of honour as bright as the moon,[3] and secondly for the captain[4] one dress of honour plus the government's letter addressed to yourself (l. 17); then after the clothes and the letter have been received with respect in the customary manner and the receipt has been entered properly (l. 18), the 2500, two thousand five hundred, cakras should be sent in a hurry (l. 18). Moreover, to you mortgages have been given (l. 20); earlier on, the government's revenue collector of that district made an advance payment last year of that money; 800, eight hundred cakras were sent by you and that (sum) has reached the court but a balance amount of 486-2[5] is still to come (l. 22). Because of the deed of mortgage and the cash rent agreed to by Tānāci Piḷe a balance of 140 cakras of the revenue for three years is (still) to come (l. 24). The two items of revenue according to specification amounting to 626-3[5] together with the tribute money should be sent to the court (l. 25); the government's balance should not be left outstanding for many days (l. 26); from now on (we) will not wait, the liquidation of debt must take place (l. 26). A list has been sent to you, that should be borne in mind (l. 27). There is no need to doubt that we will further in all ways every matter of yours at court (l. 28). May day by day your prosperity increase

1. See no. 6, note 1.
2. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
3. See no. 18, note 2.
4. Probably Mathias Mühldorff.
5. For fractions, see M.K. Damle, *Śāstrīya marāṭhī vyākaraṇa*, Bombay 1925, p. 150-151.

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with happiness and satisfaction, that is what we ask for (l. 30). Where there is friendship, what more (is there) to write? (l. 30).

(To) governor Peter Anker, shelter and treasure of love, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg, Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 32) –

Dispatch of the 4th (day) of the lunar month of Muḥarram, year 1206 in the Hegira era (3rd September A.D. 1791) (l. 34).

Seal of
the sender

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Document no. 33.

RA AsK 2183 (d)
12.07.1797.

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore

From the treasury of His Majesty King Amarasiṃha – may his good fortune remain perpetual – to the honourable Peter Anker, governor of Tranquebar, colony of His Majesty King Christian of Denmark – hail to him – (l. 4). In the year 1198 of the Suhūra sana era (A.D. 1797-1798) it should be known (seal of the peshwa) that the revenue for last year, year 1197, that is year 50, anala, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, per year in Tanjore cakras (l. 6)

tribute money two thousand cakras (l. 8) 2000,-

rent in cash and money for Devāṃganelura
400,- rent in cash as agreed by you of the three villages belonging to the northern part of Trikaṭura district, four hundred cakras (l. 13)
100,- for Devāṃganelura, one hundred cakras
500,- (l. 16) in all

this sum total of two thousand five hundred cakras has been received through the intermediacy of Jivaṇa Rāva Sivāji Paṃḍita (l. 18). In agreement with the order from His Majesty's court, carried out by Triṃbaka Rāva son of Anaṃda Rāva peshwa (l. 19).

seal Admitted by the registrar (l. 21)

Dated 17th of Muḥarram (12th July A.D. 1797) (l. 21).
Sanctioned (l. 22).
Attested by the revenue records officer (l. 24).

In the month of Muḥarram,

verified and forwarded for execution (l. 21)

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Document no. 34.

RA AsK 2183 (d)
22.10.1799.

Seal
of
the King
of Tanjore

From the treasury of His Majesty King Śeraphoji – may his good fortune remain perpetual – to the honourable Peter Anker, governor of Tranquebar, colony of His Majesty King Christian of Denmark – hail to him – (l. 3). In the year 1200 of the Suhūra sana era (A.D. 1799-1800) it should be known (seal of the peshwa) that the revenue for last year, year 1199, that is year 52, kālayuktāksa, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, per year in Tanjore cakras (l. 6)

tribute money two thousand cakras (l. 8) 2000,-	rent in cash and money for Devāṃganelura 400,- rent in cash as agreed by you of the three villages belonging to the northern part of Trikaṭura district, four hundred cakras (l. 13) 100,- for Devāṃganelura, one hundred cakras 500,- (l. 16) in all

this sum total of two thousand five hundred cakras has been received through the intermediacy of Datāji Apā (l. 18). In agreement with the order from His Majesty's court, carried out by Triṃbaka Rāva son of Anaṃda Rāva peshwa (l. 19).

seal Admitted by the registrar. (l. 21)

Dated 22nd of Jumādā I (22nd October A.D. 1799) (l. 21). Sanctioned (l. 22). Attested by the revenue records officer (l. 24).	In the month of Jumādā I,	verified and forwarded for execution (l. 21).

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Document no. 35. J RA AsK 2183 (b)

26.08.1802.

His Majesty King Śeraphoji has the following to write to general Peter Anker, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 3).

Further, it was a great pleasure for us to hear that on the 17th August A.D. 1802 the Danish flag was (again) hoisted on the fort of Tranquebar (l. 6). How much could be written in detail about that pleasure (l. 6). It was also a great pleasure to us that the friendship between you and us which is a mutual engagement of long standing has been strengthened because of the good relations which you have established (again) in the customary manner with the English government (l. 10). To tell you about this satisfaction we have written to you (l. 11); we know that you will be satisfied to learn about it (l. 12). For the robe of honour and the other things forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 13); please accept it in conformity with the list (l. 13). Let the love which you have continually preserved for our government grow (l. 14). What more is there to write? (l. 14).

Dated 26th August A.D. 1802 (l. 15).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 15).

To general Peter Anker, treasure of faithfulness, castle of Dansborg, Tranquebar (l. 17).

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Document no. 36. J RA AsK 2183 (b)

26.08.1802.

Maharaja[1]

General Peter Anker, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 3) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[2] Sonaji Apā sends respectful greetings (l. 4). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 4): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write a statement about your own well-being (l. 5). Now, when the news reached His Majesty that on 17th August the Danish flag was (again) fixed on the fort of Tranquebar, His pleasure was such as cannot be described adequately (l. 8). Each one among all the Danish authorities has preserved in the customary way their friendship for our government; that friendship is mutual and of long standing (l. 10); therefore all the (sorrowful) feelings that His Majesty had in his mind before the date of the 17th were closed up in his mind and the newly created pleasure has become prominent (l. 11). In order to make that known to you a letter, a robe of honour and other things have been sent from His Majesty by the hand of Gopāla Rāya; thereby you will be informed (l. 13). Please let the friendship which you have continually preserved for our government grow (l. 14). What more is there to write? (l. 14).

Dated 26th August A.D. 1802 (l. 15).

To the shelter of the friends and treasure of love, great and most noble man, treasure of faithfulness, general Peter Anker at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 17).

1. See no. 6, note 1.
2. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 37. J RA AsK 2186 (b)
14.08.1804.

His Majesty King Śeraphoji has the following to write to general Peter Anker, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 2): After learning about the welfare in this place you should write the statement of your own well-being (l. 3). Formerly when the request was made for the debt outstanding to the government, the tribute etc., you said that you would give tribute money for one year only, after calling for an order from your country (l. 5). Now the agreement [to pay the arrears] has come from your country and therefore your vakil Virarāghavaṃ Yegāra has written to the government's vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 7); he has passed the information on to us and that is why the receipt for the tribute and the other debt outstanding (l. 8) for four items of account, namely year (1)201 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1800-1801, that is year 54, raudra, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, year (1)202, that is year 55, durmati, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, year (1)203, that is year 56, dundubhi, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, and for year (1)204, that is year 57, rudhirodgārin, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, in all four years (l. 13), [...] has been sent by the hand of vakil [Gopāḷa Rāya] (l. 15). Upon receipt hereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money, the whole amount, together with the general clearance of accounts to reach the government (l. 16). For the robe of honour forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 16); please accept it in conformity with the list (l. 16). You will learn about some other matters from what has been written by sarakhela Dattāji Apā (l. 17). What more is there to write? (l. 17).

Dated 14th August A.D. 1804 (l. 18).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity
as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 18).

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Document no. 38. J

RA AsK 2186 (b)
14.08.1804.

General [...] Peter Anker, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 2) – Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] Dattāji Apā sends respectful greetings (l. 3). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 3): After learning about [the welfare] in this place you must write a statement about your (own) well-being (l. 4). Now, vakil Gopāḷa Rāya was formerly sent for the government's tribute and received the answer that you would give only the money for one year in accordance with the order you would receive from [your country] (l. 6). The agreement has come [now] to pay and your vakil Virarāghava Yeṃgāra has written to the government's vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 7); [he has passed the information on to us and that is why] the receipt for the requested money [the tribute and the other debt] has been sent by the hand of vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 8). Now the detailed account of the debt outstanding to the government is (l. 9)

item of account: land tribute
[20]00,- year (1)201 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1800-1801) that is year 54, raudra, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, two thousand cakras (l. 12)
2000,- year (1)202, durmati, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, two thousand cakras
[2000,- year 1203], dundubhi, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, two [thousand] cakras (l. 16)
[200]0,- year (1)204, rudhirodgārin, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, two thousand cakras (l. 18)
8000,- (l. 19)

item of account:rent of land in cash as agreed by you (l. 11)
1600,- money agreed for the three villages (belonging to the northern part of Trikaṭura district), 3 (l. 12)
400,- year (1)201, raudra, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, four hundred cakras
400,- year (1)202, durmati, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, four hundred cakras (l. 16)
400,- [year 1203], dundubhi, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, four hundred cakras (l. 18)
400,- year (1)204, rudhirodgārin, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, four hundred cakras
1600,- (l. 21)
400,- agreed sum of land revenue for Devāṃganelura (l. 22)
100,- [year] (1)201, raudra [in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter], one hundred cakras (l. 24)

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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100,- year (1)202, [du]-rmati, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, one hundred cakras (l. 26)
100,- year (1)203, dundubhi, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, one hundred cakras (l. 28)
100,- year (1)204, rudhirodgārin, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, [one hundred] cakras
400,- (l. 31)
2000,-.

The receipt for this total of ten thousand cakras has been sent by the hand of the government's vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 33). Upon receipt [thereof] you must send [the money] together with the general clearance of accounts (l. 34). For the robe of honour forwarded to you from the government a note of hand has been sent (. 35); please accept it in conformity with the list (l. 35). What more is there to write? (l. 35).

[1]-4 August A.D. 1804 (l. 36).

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Document no. 39. J RA AsK 2186 (b)

14.08.1804.

To Mr. Øvre, faithful and kind to friends, permanent resident in the port of Tranquebar, Dattāji Apā[1] sends respectful greetings (l. 3). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 3): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write about your own well-being (l. 4).

Now, the receipt for the government's tribute and the rest of the money for the years from year (1)201 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1800-1801), that is year 54, raudra, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter until year (1)204 (of the Suhūra sana era), that is year 57, rudhirodgārin, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, being the debt outstanding for four years (l. 5), together with the government's letter [to the] governor, a robe of honour as well as a note of hand have been sent by the hand of vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 7). Seeing to it that these things have reached the governor, the government's money [together] with the general clearance of accounts should be dispatched (l. 8). For you a robe of honour from the government has been sent (l. 8); please accept it in conformity with the list (l. 8). What more is there to write? (l. 9).

14th August A.D. 1804 (l. 10).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 40. J RA AsK 2183 (b)

13.10.1805.

His Majesty King Śeraphoji has the following to write to general Peter Anker, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 4).

Further, the receipt for the tribute and the other money for last year, (1)205 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1804-1805), that is year 58, raktākṣa, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, has been sent by the hand of the vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 6). Upon receipt thereof please arrange for the government's money, the tribute and the rest, together with the general clearance of accounts to reach (us) (l. 7). For you a robe of honour and other things have been sent; please accept them in conformity with the list (l. 8). You will learn some other matters from what was written by Dattāji Apā (l. 10): What more is there to write? (l. 10).

[To general Peter Anker, treasure of faithfulness, at] the Danish castle of Dansborg [in the port of Tranquebar] (l. 11).

[Dated] 19th of the month of Rajab (1)20[6] (of the Suhūra sana era), that is [13th] October A.D. [18] 05 (l. 15).

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Document no. 41. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
13.10.1805.

General Peter Anker, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 2) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] Dattāji Apā sends respectful greetings (l. 4). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 4): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write a statement about your own well-being (l. 5). Now, the receipt for the tribute and the other money for last year (1)205 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1804-1805), that is year 58, raktākṣa, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter as well as the government's letter have according to the old rule been sent by the hand of the vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 7). Upon receipt thereof please make arrangement for the tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach the government (l. 8). Please accept in conformity with the list the robes of honour sent to you from the government (l. 9). What more is there to write? (l. 10).

Dated 19th of the month of Rajab (1)206 of the Suhūra sana era, that is 13th October 1805 (l. 12).

To be given to shelter of the friends and treasure of love, great and most noble man, treasure of faithfulness, general Peter Anker at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual – (l. 14).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 42. J

RA AsK 2183 (b)
13.10.1805.

To Mr. Øvre, faithful and kind to friends, permanent resident in the port of Tranquebar, Dattāji Apā sends respectful greetings (l. 3). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 3): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write about your own well-being (l. 4). Now, the receipt for the government's tribute and the rest of the money, revenue for last year 1205 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1804-1805) raktākṣa, that is year 58 in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, together with the government's letter to the governor, a robe of honour as well as a note of hand have been sent by the hand of vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 6). When these things have reached the governor, the money together with the general clearance of accounts should be dispatched (l. 7). For you a robe of honour has been sent (l. 8); please accept it in conformity with the list (l. 8). In agreement with the tobacco contract formerly concluded by the port-town cultivator and in conformity with the sharing of his personal property by Śuku Piḷe for (the benefit of) his son Māsilāmaṇi Piḷe by his first wife and for his younger wife and her daughter, and after consideration the Danish government has made a settling (l. 12); according to that [...] an order was earlier issued for Māsilāmaṇi to go away (l. 13); because of his opposition you were told that a (new) settlement should be made (l. 14); you wrote that you would make it accordingly after you had enquired into (the matter) (l. 14). Now a just settlement should be reached after the government's vakil Gopāḷa Rāya has informed you in detail about the above-mentioned and you have passed the information on to the governor (l. 16). What more is there to write? (l. 16).

Dated 19th of the month of Rajab, year (1)206 of the Suhūra sana era, 13th October A.D. 1805 (l. 18).

To be forwarded to Mr. Øvre, faithful and kind to friends, permanent resident in the port of Tranquebar (l. 20).

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Document no. 43.

RA AsK 2183 (b)
Terminus a quo 14.07.1803.
Terminus ante quem 07.02.1806.

śrī

Maharaja[1]

Sahib kind to friends, gracious, appreciator of merit, showing tenderness, major Øvre – may the great God protect you (l. 3) – to you[2] vakil Gopāḷa Rāya [...]-kāṃji sends respectful greetings (l. 4). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 5): After having known the welfare in this place up to the 1st (day) of the lunar (month) of Muḥarram the Sahib must write about his own satisfaction and well-being (l. 6). Further, a merchant in the service of His Royal Majesty, (by name) Rāmasvāmi Āpā has come to Tranquebar for the marriage of his son (l. 9); his future in-laws are dwelling in the fort of Tranquebar and therefore the marriage must take place in the fort itself (l. 10). In this connection the above-mentioned ayā[3] is coming with relatives and their normal amount of necessary articles (l. 12). For those your frontier tax collectors should not make any hindrance and (likewise) there should be no hindrance for the going and coming (in and out) of the fort (l. 14). The news should be given to the place at the doorway and the musician on the wind-instrument and the band of musicians should also get that injunction (l. 15). To the goods and articles purchased during a stop-over in Poreiar and brought into the fortress the collectors of customs and contractors should not give any hindrance (l. 17). Also one clerk should be assigned and given; there should be no deficiency (l. 18). The marriage should be made successful (l. 18). The marriage is being celebrated by giving a grant from the government (l. 19); on account of that you should make a [...] performance (l. 19). In agreement with the detailed order of the government and according to specification this news has been written to you; you must [...] that. [...] respectful greetings (l. 21).

Sahib kind to friends, gracious, appreciator of merit, showing tenderness, major Øvre Sahib – may the great God protect you – (l. 23).

1. See no. 6, note 1.
2. Cf. no. 2, note 2.
3. Compellation of respect.

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Document no. 44. J RA AsK 2183 (b)
02.04.1806.

By His Majesty King Śeraphoji it is being written to governor Peter Hermanson, treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg, (Tranquebar) (l. 2): Upon the departure of (governor) Peter Anker, general, to his native country you have been appointed to take over the government until the King of Denmark has appointed another governor in Peter Anker's place (l. 5). Moreover, at the time of his departure for his native country the state of his health was not favourable and he also had many affairs to see to (l. 7), therefore he did not have the favour of a meeting with us (l. 8); this and other things I have been informed about from your letter to me of 25th March, a letter which has reached (us) by the hand of your vakil Virarāghava Ayeṃgāra (l. 10). From the day when the authority over the port of Tranquebar came to general Peter Anker (he) towards the government behaving in a trustworthy way (l. 12), considering as an ornament to his mind the government's awareness that in the governor there was, one might say, a keen desire for its praises and in accordance with that (appreciation) he single-mindedly carried on in such a way that the government's love and respect (for him) continually grew – this must be well-known to you (l. 16). In addition taking to heart the desire of actively preserving the government's greatness, it may be said that you will solicitously make your conduct pleasing in accordance (with this desire) (l. 18). In short, it is our fixed determination that the friendly relations which have been reciprocally entertained for (many years) past between this kingdom and the state of Denmark shall be preserved (l. 21), and for this reason it should be understood that we are only-desirous and dedicated of mind (l. 22). According to custom a robe of honour has been sent to you by the hand of the government's vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 24). The other news you will learn from what sarakhela Goviṃda Rāva Nivāji Mohite is writing (l. 25). What more is there to write? (l. 25).

Dated 2nd April A.D. 1806 (l. 26).

To be given to treasure of faithfulness Peter Hermanson, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 29).

1. I owe the translation of the text line 12 to 19 to Dr. I.M.P. Raeside of SOAS

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Document no. 45. J

H & S 1810:49
02.04.1806.

Governor Peter Hermanson, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may his favour remain perpetual (l. 3) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] vizier Govimḍa Rāva Nivāji Mohite sends respectful greetings (l. 5). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 5): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write about your own well-being (l. 6). Now, to the government of the above-mentioned port-town you have been appointed (l. 7). Formerly general Peter Anker held that office but he was sent back to his native country (l. 8). To make his courtesies to His Majesty at the time he was not able because of his physical weakness and the urgent need to leave because of some further affair also prevented him from coming for an audience at court (l. 10); this as well as other things were written in a letter dated 25th March; this letter as well as a present were sent by the hand of vakil Virarāghava Ayeṃgāra and we were happy to receive them (l. 12). We are certain that you will continue to behave in a trustworthy way to our government as did general Peter Anker from the day he took over the government of the port-town (l. 15). From the court a letter and a robe of honour have been sent forth for you and by us a letter has also been written; by the hand of the government's vakil Gopāḷa Rāya the forwarded things will arrive (l. 17). What more is there to write? (l. 17).

Dated 2nd April A.D. 1806 (l. 18).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 46. J RA AsK 2183 (b)

02.04.1806.

Maharaja[1]

To Mr. Halkier, faithful and kind to friends, permanent resident in the port of Tranquebar, vizier Govimḍa Rāva Nivāji Mohite sends respectful greetings (l. 4). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 4). After learning about the welfare in this place you must write about your own well-being (l. 5). Now, the letter of 25th March which you wrote has arrived with the information that because general Peter Anker has returned to his native country Peter Hermanson has come in his place; to the position which Mr. Øvre held you have been appointed (l. 8); also the present which was sent to His Majesty has reached him (l. 9). About the behaviour of Major Mühldorf and of Mr. Øvre[2] shown to the government you will certainly know (l. 10). For you a written answer as well as a robe of honour issued from the government have been sent by the hand of the government's vakil Gopāḷa Rāya (l. 12); he will forward them according to the list (l. 12). What more is there to write? (l. 12) Dated 2nd April A.D. 1806 (l. 13).

To be given to Mr. Halkier, faithful and kind to friends, permanent resident in the port of Tranquebar (l. 15).

1. See no. 6, note 1.
2. See the Introduction, p. 18.

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Document no. 47.

RA AsK 2186 (b)
03.11.1807.

Seal
of
the King
of
Tanjore

From the treasury of His Majesty King Śeraphoji – may his good fortune remain perpetual – to the honourable Peter Hermanson, governor of Tranquebar, colony of King Christian of Denmark – hail to him – (l. 4). In the year 1208 of the Suhūra sana era (A.D. 1807-1808) it should be known seal of the peshwa that the revenue for last year, year 1207, that is year 60, kṣaya, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter, per year in Tanjore cakra (l. 6).

tribute money two thousand cakras (l. 8) 2000,-	rent in cash and money for Devāṃganelura 400,- rent in cash as agreed by you of the three villages belonging to the northern part of Trikaṭura district, four hundred cakras (l. 13) 100,- for Devāṃganelura, one hundred cakras 500,- (l. 16) in all

this sum total of two thousand five hundred cakras has been received through the intermediacy of Govinda Rāva Mohite (l. 18). In agreement with the order from His Majesty's court, carried out by Triṃbaka Rāva son of Anaṃda Rāva peshwa (l. 20).

Dated 2nd of Ramaḍān (3rd November A.D. 1807) (l. 22). Sanctioned (l. 23). Attested by the revenue records officer (l. 25).	In the month of Ramaḍān,	seal	Admitted by the registrar (l. 21) verified and forwarded for execution (l. 22).

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Document no. 48.

DNM IV DA 368
16.03.1823.

śrī

His Majesty, His Royal Highness King Śeraphoji has written as follows to governor Jens Koefoed at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 4). Now, the two letters dated 13th and 15th February which you sent have arrived (l. 6); from the first one we have learned that at this time a big house in Tranquebar is for sale and that you proposed that our government ought to purchase it (l. 7); from the second letter we have learned that you would like very much to know what are the rights [...] of the Pānchāla[1] and the Kavarai[2] castes (l. 11). Our government thinks that we do not have any use for a house at that place (l. 13); we are very sorry to inform you that the house is not necessary[3] (l. 14). Concerning the other request of yours the minister is instructed by us to inform you accordingly and then let you know (l. 16). What more is there? (l. 16).

Dated 16th March A.D. 1823, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 17).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity
as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 18).

1. A synonym for Canarese Kammālans, among whom five (pānch) classes of workers are included, viz. gold and silver, brass and copper, iron and stone. (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol VI, p. 43, Madras 1909).
2. Kavarai is the name for Balijas (Telugu trading caste), who have settled in the Tamil country. (Ibidem, vol. III, p. 263).
3. See the Introduction, p. 20.

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Document no. 49.

DNM IV DA 368
19.09.1824.

śrī

His Majesty, His Royal Highness King Śeraphoji has written as follows to governor, commander U. Schønheider at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 2): After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 3).

Now, on behalf of the government (vakil) Bābāji Gaṃgādhara has been sent with the receipt for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)24 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1823-1824), that is year 17, subhānu, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 5). Upon receipt thereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach the government (l. 6). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 7); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 8). You will learn about some other matters from what has been written by sarakhela Rāmoji Sarjye Rāva Ghāṃṭake (l. 10). What more is there? (l. 10).

Dated 19th September A.D. 1824 (l. 10).

Śrīrāmapratāpa (name of family deity as equivalent of king's signature) (l. 11).

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Document no. 50.

DNM IV DA 368
19.09.1824.

śrī

Commander and governor U. Schønheider, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may the great God protect you (l. 2) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] vizier, sarakhela Rāmoji Sarjye Rāva Ghāmṭake sends respectful greetings (l. 4). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 4): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write a statement about your own well-being (l. 5). Now, by the hand of the government's vakil Băbăji Gaṃgādhara the receipt has been sent for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)24 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1823-1824), that is year 17, subhānu, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 7). Upon receipt thereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach the government (l. 8). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 8); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 9): What more is there to write? (l. 9).

Dated 19th September A.D. 1824 (l. 9).

Signature of the sarakhela (l. 10).

śrī

To commander and governor U. Schønheider, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 13).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 51.

DMN IV DA 384
22.06.1832.

śrī

His Majesty, His Royal Highness King Śivāji has written as follows to governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 4).

Now, we are very sorry to inform you of the sad news that His Majesty, His Royal Highness King Śeraphoji passed away the 8th day of March after more than 33 years on the throne of Tanjore, a happy rule without any hindrance, prospering because of the love and noble feelings of the honourable British government to whose equity he commended our care (l. 9). On the 16th day after his demise the funeral solemnities were finished according to our custom and immediately on 17th we sat on the throne which came to us by regular family succession (l. 11). At that moment the honourable British government as a token of special favour and friendship made us heir to precisely as full rights to independence and greatness (as stipulated in that government's) treaties with our father (l. 13); we are pleased to inform you about the said news (l. 14). We shall be glad to continue in the usual way the love and affection which our father showed for your government (l. 16). This as well as the steady increase in dignity and prosperity of the King of Denmark is in our mind (l. 18); you should also write and inform the King of that wellwishing (of ours) (l. 18). We were extremely happy to learn that now in the days of our rule you have been appointed leader of the Danish government in our province (l. 20). We shall ask the lord that in this position you may for a long time enjoy fame from the undertaking you are engaged in (l. 21). You will learn about other matters from the letter written to you by our minister Băbăji Rāmāji Paṃḍita (l. 23). What more is there? (l. 23).

Dated 22nd June A.D. 1832, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 24).

This letter should be forwarded to governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 26).

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Document no. 52.

H & S 1272:53
22.06.1832.

śrī

Governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may the great God protect you (l. 3) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] sarakhela Bābaji Rāmāji Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 5). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 5): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write a statement about your own well-being (l. 6). Now, His Majesty, His Royal Highness King Śivāji has upon the demise of His father and by right of unbroken succession ascended the throne of Tanjore on the 24th day of March (l. 9); on that day all honourable British officials paid the respect due to Him and made Him inherit precisely as full rights of titles, independence and greatness as stipulated in the treaties with His deceased father His Highness (the late) King Śeraphoji (l. 11). The friendly relationship between your government and ours His Highness the King will be happy to continue in the same way as during the days of the late King Śeraphoji (l. 14). For you and the leading members of your government shawls have been sent following the order from His Majesty (l. 16); we ask you to kindly accept them in conformity with the note of hand (l. 17). We were very pleased to hear the news that you have joined the position (of governor) (l. 17). We shall always ask the Lord that you may live long and happy with the undertaking you are engaged in (l. 19). What more is there to write? (l. 19).

Dated 22nd June A.D. 1832, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 20).

This letter should be forwarded to governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 22).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 53.

DNM IV DA 385
19.09.1832.

śrī

Governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may the great God protect you (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] sarakhela Bābāji Rāmāji Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 6). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 6): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write a statement about your well-being (l. 7). Now, by the hand of the government's vakil Bābāji Gaṃgādhara the receipt has been sent for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)32 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1831-1832), that is year 25, khara, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 9). Upon receipt thereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach (the government). (l. 10) For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 11); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 11). What more is there to write? (l. 11).

Dated 19th September A.D. 1832, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 12).

This letter should be forwarded to governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 14).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 54.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2
19.09.1832.

śrī

To Johannes Rehling, member of the government, great and most noble man, at the castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar, treasure of courteous regard and affection, sarakhela Bǎbǎji Rāmāji Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 4). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 4). After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 5).

Now, with the hand of the government's vakil Bǎbǎji Gaṃgadhara the receipt has been sent for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)32 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1831-1832), that is year 25, khara, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 7). Upon receipt thereof please arrange for the government's money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach the government (l. 8). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 9); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 9). What more is there to write? (l. 9).

Dated 19th September A.D. 1832, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 10).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Original from
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Document no. 55.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2
08.10.1833.

śrī

To governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may the great God protect you (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] Băbăji Rāmāji Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 6). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 6): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write a statement about your own well-being (l. 7). Now, by the hand of the government's vakil Băbăji Gaṃgadhara the receipt has been sent for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)33 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1832-1833), that is 26, nandana, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 9). Upon receipt thereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach (the government) (l. 10). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 11); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 11). What more is there to write? (l. 11).

Dated 8th October A.D. 1833, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 12).

This letter should be forwarded to governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, at the castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 14).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 56.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2
28.09.1834.

śrī

His Majesty, His Royal Highness King Śivāji has written as follows to governor, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, Konrad Emil Mourier, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 4). Now, [on behalf of the government vakil Bǎbǎji Gaṃgadhara has been sent with the receipt for the debt outstanding] the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)34 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1833-1834), that is year 27, vijaya, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 5). [Upon receipt thereof] please arrange for [the government's] tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach the government (l. 6). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 6); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 7). You will learn about some other matters from what has been written by Sarakhela Bǎbǎji Rāmāji Paṃḍita (l. 8). What more is there? (l. 8).

Dated 28th September A.D. 1834, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 9).

This letter should be forwarded to governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 11).

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Document no. 57.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2
28.09.1834.

śrī

Governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquēbar – may the great God protect you (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] sarakhela Bābāji Rāmāji Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 6). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 6). After learning about the welfare in this place you must write a statement about your own well-being (l. 7). Now, by the hand of the government's vakil Bābāji Gaṃgadhara the receipt has been sent for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)34 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1833-1834), that is the year 27, vijaya, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 9). Upon receipt thereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach (the government) (l. 10). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 11); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 11). What more is there to write? (l. 11).

Dated 28th September A.D. 1834, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 12).

This letter should be forwarded to governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 14).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 58.

RA AsK 1396 (b) 2
16.09.1835.

śrī

Governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar – may the great God protect you (l. 4) –

Shelter of the friends and treasure of love, to you[1] sarakhela Băbăji Rāmāji Paḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 6). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 6): After learning about the welfare in this place you must write a statement about your own well-being (l. 7). Ṇow, by the hand of the government's vakil Băbăji Gaṃgadhara has been sent the receipt for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)35 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1834-1835), that is year 28, jaya by name, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 9). Upon receipt thereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach (the government) (l. 10). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 11), please accept it in conformity with that (l. 11). What more is there to write? (l. 11).

Dated 16th September A.D. 1835, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 12).

This letter should be forwarded to governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, great and most noble man and treasure of faithfulness, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 15).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 59.

DNM IV DA 384
12.02.1837.

śrī

His Majesty, His Royal Highness[1] King Śivāji has written as follows to the governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3):

After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 4). Now, the auspicious day for the wedding ceremony of our daughter, (may she be) long-lived[2], princess Rājasabāi has been settled to be the 22nd February (l. 6). You must make the great occasion of the wedding splendid by attending yourself together with the members of the Danish government (l. 7). What more is there to write? (l. 7).

Dated 12th February A.D. 1837, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 8).

1. Before the usual titles of the king an extra 'His Highness' has been inserted, but this is not rendered here.
2. The word *cirajiva* literally expresses a wish; nowadays it has, however, been reduced to a mere title indicating that the daughter is 'daughter and heir' as opposed to a niece or a daughter by a concubine. I owe this observation to Dr. I.M.P. Raeside of SOAS

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Document no. 60.

DNM IV DC 243
25.09.1837.

śrī

His Majesty, His Royal Highness King Śivāji has written as follows to the governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 3): After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 4).

Now, on behalf of the government vakil Govimda Rāva Yutdhoji has been sent with the receipt for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)37 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1836-1837), that is year 30, durmukha, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 6). Upon receipt thereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach (the government) (l. 7). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 8); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 8). You will learn about some other matters from what has been written by sarakhela Băbăji Rāmāji Pamdita (l. 9). What more is there? (l. 9).

Dated 25th September A.D. 1837, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 10).

This letter should be forwarded to governor Konrad Emil Mourier, lieutenant commander in the Danish navy, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 12).

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Document no. 61.

H & S 1274:53
25.09.1837.

śrī

To[1] Jørgensen, member of the government, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar, treasure of courteous regard and affection, sarakhela Bābāji Rāmāji Paḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 4). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 4). After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 5).

Now, by the hand of the government's vakil Govida Rāva Mutdhoji the receipt has been sent for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)37 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1836-1837), that is year 30, durmukha, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 7). Upon receipt hereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach (the government) (l. 8). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 9); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 9). What more is there to write? (l. 9).

Dated 25th September A.D. 1837, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 10).

This letter should be forwarded to Jørgensen, member of the government, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 12).

1. Cf. no. 2, note 2.

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Document no. 62.

RA Manuscript Repertory
no. 14, p. 507 Ostindien no. 19
"Oak Cabinet".
08.10.1844.

śrī

To C. Møller, member of the government, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar, treasure of courteous regard and affection, sarakhela Āṇaji Tyāgarāja Paṃḍita sends respectful greetings (l. 4). (The reason for) this (communication is) as follows (l. 5): After learning about the welfare in this place you should write a statement about your own well-being (l. 5).

Now, on behalf of the government vakil Veṃkāji Goviṃda, revenue records officer, has been sent with the receipt for the debt outstanding, the tribute and the other money, due to the government from you for (last) year (12)44 (of the Suhūra sana era, A.D. 1843-1844), that is year 37, śobhakṛt by name, in the sixty year cycle of Jupiter (l. 8). On receipt thereof please arrange for the government's tribute and the other money together with the general clearance of accounts to reach (the government) (l. 9). For the pair of shawls forwarded to you a note of hand has been sent (l. 10); please accept it in conformity with that (l. 10). What more is there to write? (l. 10).

Dated 8th October A.D. 1844, place of residence, Tanjore castle (l. 12).

śrī

This letter should be made to reach C. Møller, member of the government, great and most noble man, at the Danish castle of Dansborg in the port of Tranquebar (l. 14).

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List of abbreviations

AO	Acta Orientalia, Copenhagen
Carey	see Bibliography
DED	Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (by T. Burrow & M.B. Emeneau) see Bibliography
Dikshit	see Bibliography
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay
IC	Islamic Culture, Hyderabad
IJDL	International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum
IL	Indian Linguistics, Poona
IOR	India Office Records, London
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London
JRAS Bom N.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Bombay
JTSML	Journal of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore
Hobson-Jobson	see Bibliography
Kelkar	see Bibliography
Khobrekar	see Bibliography M.G. Dikshit & V.G. Khobrekar
Kulkarni	see Bibliography K. P. Kulkarni
Lingua	Lingua. International Review of General Linguistics, Haarlem
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India (ed. G.A.Grierson), Calcutta
MGOMS	Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Series, Madras
Molesworth	see Bibliography
Navalkar	see Bibliography
Paṭvardhan	see Bibliography M.T. Paṭvardhan 1925
POC 1	Proceedings & Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona
SIAS	Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, London
Steingass	see Bibliography
Wilson	see Bibliography

Abbreviations used in transliterations and translations.

Marāṭhī. The references are to Molesworth's dictionary.

gu.	*guttā* (no. 33, 1.9).
ca.ra	*cakra;* it may also stand for *cāhūra* (no. 38, 1.10 (twice) and 1.22).
ta.	*tāgāīta* (no. 36, 1.10).
tā.	*tāgāīta* (no. 43, 1.5).
tāṃ.	*tāgāīta* (no. 29, 1.6).
nā.	*nāīka* (no. 6, 1.19 and 22).
ni.	*nisabata* (no. 29, 1.11; no. 49, 1.15; no. 60, 1.6 and no. 62, 1.8).
pa.	*paragaṇā* (no. 3, 1.7; no. 5, 1.9 and 22; no. 33, 1.10; no. 34, 1.9 and no. 47, 1.10).
pa.	*in pa.hu.ra.ma. pādaśāhī* (no. 3, 1.14; no. 5, 1.34; no. 33, 1.18; no. 34, 1.18 and no. 47, 1.18).

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pra.	*pramāṇeṃ* (no. 35, 1.13; no. 36, 1.13 and no. 37, 1.16).
ba.	*bābatī* (no. 5, 1.10, 15, 17, 19 and 23; no. 31, 1.9 and no. 58, 1.8).
bā.	*bābatī* (no. 20, 1.16; no. 22, 1.17,20 and 22; no. 26, 1.5 and 9).
ma.	*in pa.hu.ra.ma. māraphatīneṃ* (no. 3, 1.14; no. 5,1. 34; no. 33,1.18; no. 34, 1.18 and no. 47, 1.19).
ma.ra.	*maśāranille* (no. 29, 1.21).
ma.ranile	*maśāranille* (no. 7, 1.4).
ra.	*rāsa?* (no. 3, 1.12).
ra.	*ravānā* (no. 3, 1.19 and no. 5, 1.39).
ra.	in *pa.hu.ra.ma ravānā* (no. 3, 1.14; no. 5, 1.34; no. 33, 1.18 and no. 34, 1.18).
ra.	*rājaśrī* (no. 38, 1.5)
rā.	*rājaśrī* (no. 13, 1.8; no. 25, 1.53; no. 29, 1.13; no. 32, 1.14; no. 38, 1.7 and 33; no. 39, 1.6; no. 41, 1.7; no. 42, 1.6 and 15; no. 43, 1.11; no. 45, 1.15 and no. 46, 1.11).
ru	*rujū* (no. 3, 1.18; no. 5, 1.38; no. 33, 1.21; no. 34, 1.21 and no. 47, 1.22).
śne.	*śnehāṃkita, snehāṃkita* (no. 29, 1.5).
sā.	*sāheba* (no. 52, 1.3, 7, 10, 13 (twice) and 22; no. 53, 1.4; no. 55, 1.3 and 14).
sālagu.	*sālagudasta* (no. 1, 1.5; no. 5, 1.7; no. 33, 1.5; no. 34, 1.4 and no. 47, 1.5).
su.	*surasanna* (no. 7, 1.6; no. 9, 1.5; no. 29, 1.25 and no. 42, 1.17).
hu.	in *pa.hu.ra.ma. hujūra* (no. 3, 1.14; no. 5, 1.34; no. 33, 1.18; no. 34, 1.18 and no. 47, 1.18).

Other abbreviations

AsK	Asiatisk Kompagni, i.e. (Danish) Asiatic Company.
DNM	Danmarks Nationalmuseum, i.e. The National Museum of Denmark.
H & S	Handels- & Søfartsmuseet paa Kronborg, i.e. The Danish Maritime Museum, Kronborg Castle.
R	in front of the date of a letter denotes that the date is the time of reception at Tranquebar.
RA	Rigsarkivet, i.e. Danish National Archives.
[...]	Square brackets are used to mark lacunae in the original text.
( )	Round brackets are used in the translations around words for which there is no direct Marāṭhī equivalent.
	is the rendering of δ meaning 'no paise, no more' (personal communication from professor S.G. Tulpule to the author).

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Word Index

Abbreviations Mol.(esworth) Paṭ.(vardhan) Ste.(ingass) tr(an)sl.(ation) n.(ote)

References are to pages and to documents (no.)

akarama 68 69
aki 58
aṃki 58 63
aṃkiṃ 58
aja 52
ajama – ajam 13 n.20
ajaru 70
aji Mol. *ajidilayakhalāsa* 38
aji – ankee 13 n.20
aje Mol *āja* (no.26,1.16)
aḍamāna 64 66
ataṃka Mol. *aṭaka* (no.51,1.6)
adara Mol. *ādara* (no. 13,1.10)
adare 74
anakuḷe 74
anaṃdā 75
anuvāri 68 69
anusvāra 37
apaṇa 60
apalā, apali 60
apulyā 60 75
aphajāna 14 n.21
aphulyā 60 75
aṃbala 71 72
abāla for *abala* (no.14 trsl. n.2)
amala 71 72
amuce, amuceṃ 75
ampachi 65 66
ammala 72
ayā (no.43 trsl. n.3)
arabā 71
arabaina 71
arava Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Madras 1909, I, p.55 (no. 26,1.7)
arthiṃ 75
arbā 71
arbaina 37 71
arbauna 37
alif 39
ale, aleṃ 61
avasariṃ 75
asaṇeṃ 75ff.
asati 75 85
asatīṃ 76
asarā Mol. *āsarā* (no.24,1.25)
asala 76
asali 76
asalyā 77
asalyāne 76
asirvada Mol. *āśīrvāda* (no.15,1.3)
asila 61 76
asile 61 76
asu 62
asuṃ 62 76
ase 62 75
aseṃ 80
aseti 76
aseṃti 76
asela 76
aso 62 76
asoṃ 76
asti 65
āṃ 58
ākarama 68 69
āki 58
ākiṃ 58
āṃki 58
āgadi Mol. *agadi* (no.6,1.24)
āji Mol. *ajidilayakhalāsa*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ānabhavitāti 76
ānamāna Mol. *anamāna* (no.6,1.63)
āpaṇa 60
āpalā, āpali 60
āle 61
āśvayuj 65
āśvina 65
āsaṇāra – ashanarah 13 n.20
āse 62 75
āsoṃ 62
ăkarama 68 69
ăkarama – akarum 13 n.20
ăṃki 58
ăpali 60
ăleṃ 61
ăse 62
ăseṃ 62
ăsti 65
i 68 69
iṃ 68 69
ijārā 70
iśarina Mol. *aśarīna*
isane Mol. *isanne*
īṃ 68
uki 58
uṃki 58
uṃkiṃ 58
uchraye 74
upari yethila 58
ubhayatāṃ 72
ubhayetāṃ 72
uḷa 65 66
aippaci 65
kaṭina Mol. *kaṭhina* (no.6,1.21)
kaṭina 72
kaḍi (no.29 n.1)
kaḍila (no.29 n.1)
kaḍuna 74 85
kaṇaṃpana 65 66
kadaradāṃ 68 69
kadardāṃ 68 69
kaphalatī 72
kaphālat 72
kaṃmi Mol. *kamī* (no.43,1.17)
karaṇa 54 56 62
karaṇe, karaṇeṃ 62
karatorā 71
karadorā 71
karaṃpharmāye 68 69
karavīra – vīrakara 38
karavīranivāsinī 38
karāveṃyā 73
karāveyāsa 73
karitāṃ 74 81 84 85
karuna 74
karona 59
karjadāraṃ (no.25 n.2)
karjavaraṃ (no.25 n.2)
karti for *kīrt(t)i* (no.51 n.1)
kalaṇe stava 73
kalami 61
kalamī karīta 63
kalame Mol. *kalamī* 61
kalavaṇe 73
kalāpa 72
kalāphatī 72
kale for *kele* (no.8 n.1)
kaḷaje 79
kaḷaleca as *kaḷḷeca* 79 n.22
kaḷavaṇayā viṣaiṃ 73
kaḷavaṇecā 73
kaḷḷeca for *kaḷaleca* 79 n.22
kāīma 71
kāḍhaṇeṃ 72
kāṇam 65
kāyema 71
kāraṇa 81 84
kāraṇeṃ 73 81
kāryabhāga 72
kāryastha 65 66 72
kāryebhāga 72
kāryesta 65 66 72 73
kāvalagāra 65 66
kāvali 65 66

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

kāvaligāra 65
kāhaḍile 72
kāhaḍu 72
kāhāḍuna 72
kăḷaleṃ 79
kăḷeṃ 78 79
ki 58
kiṃ 80
kije 55 56 79
kitābati 62
kilā Mol. *killā* (nos.8,35,36,43)
kīje 63
kīrt(t)i (no.51 n.1)
kuśala 59
kuśela 59
kele (no.8 n.1)
kaiphiyeta Mol. *kaiphiyata* (no.4,1.10)
kaiseṃ 75
korṭa – court 13 n.20
kaula (no.9 n.)
kaulanāmā(ṃ) (no.9 n.)
kausala 'councillor' (no.16,1.18)
kṣaṇi 75
khabara 59 63
khayerakhvāhā 66 67
khayeriyeta Mol. *khairyata* (no.32,1.8)
khayeriyeta 61
kharaḍā 14 n.21
khalala 66 67
khāra 67 68
khāsakhela Ste.439+493 (no.3,1.15-16 & 18; no.5,1.35-36 & 38)
khāsakhela 52
khilata 54 55 (no.40 n.1)
khilatāda (no.40,1.8)
khilayeta Mol. *khilāta* (no.16,1.17 & 18)
khuda 60
khuśahāli 58
khuśāli 58 59 63
khuśāhāli 58
khuśi 59 63
khuṣi 59 63 75
khusi 59 63
khusihali 58
khairayata 63
khairyeta 61
gavaranara 51
gavarnara 50 51
guṭikā 65
gutakā 65
gutagā 65 66
gutagiyā 65
gutagedāra 65 66
gutiyā 65
guttagā 65
guttige 65
guttegedāra 65
gunāha 72
gunhā 72
gela 61
geleṃ 61
goraṇadora 50 51 74
goraṃdora 50 51
goraṃnadora 50 51
govarṇadora 50 51
govarnadora 50 51
governador (Portuguese) 50 51
gaunara 50 51
gaunarameṃtāṃta – governormentanthe 13 n.20
ghālaṇeceṃ 73
ghālauni 60
ghe- 45
ghyāveyā 73
cakariyācā 73
caṃdāvara 84
cāṃgale (no.6 n.2)
cālavāveyā 73
cālāveṃyāce 73
cālileṃ 79
cāleṃ 78 79

Digitized by Google | Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ciṭi 72
cittiṃ 75
citteṃ 74
cirajiva (no.59 trsl. n.2)
chatrapati 72
chetrapati 72
jakātidāra Mol. *jakātadā-ra* (no.43,1.16)
jakāyeti Mol. *jakāta* (no.16,1.19)
jana 72
jabānī 70
jayādā Mol. *jādā*
jayādā 62
japhta Mol. *japta* (no.24,1.52)
jā- 45
jāṇaṇayā viṣaiṃ 73
jāṇije 79
jāṇuna 59
jāṇuṃna 59
jāṇecyā jaruri muḷeṃ 73
jāṇona 59
jāṇauna 59 60 63
jāmevara 67
jāli 77
jāve 61
jāhalā 78
jāhale 77
jāhalyā 77 78
jāhālā 77
jāhāli 77
jāhāle 77
jāhāleṃ 77
jāhīra 71
jāhera 71
-ji 22 n.45
jinasa Mol. *jinnasa* (no.36,1.10)
jimā Mol. *jimmā* (no.46,1.11)
jiyādā 63
jiviṃ 75
jubāni 70 71
jeṃ 80
jena 72
jaisā 75
jaiseṃ 75
jogemārga 74
jyāgaruka Mol. *jāgaruka* (no.44,1.16-17)
jyādā Mol. *jādā*
jyādā 61
jyādā kāye lihiṇe 61
jhāḍā 73
jhāḍiyā 54 56 73
jhālā 77
jhāli 78
jhālyā 78
ṭāi 62
ṭāiṃ 62 72
ṭāuka Mol. *ṭhāūka* (no.30,1.7)
ṭāuka 72
ṭāk- 45
ṭhāi 62
ṭhāṃiṃ? (no.44 n.2)
ṭhev- 45
takājhā 72
takhta Mol. *takta* (no.31,1.8)
takhta (no.31 n.1)
taṃjāura 84
tadanura (no.8 n.2)
tadanusāra 75
tadauta 75
tadvat → *tadauta* 75
tanmuḷeṃ 75
tamasuka Mol. *tamāsū-ka* (nos.18,20,21,23,24,25)
tarakabaḍi etc. 85
tarakaṃbāḍi – *Trangumbady* 13 n.20
tarapha 71
tararpha 71
talakabaḍi 85
tāgāḍā 72
tāgādā 72
tārīkh 71
tārīkha 71
tisaina Mol. *tissāṃ, tissaina*

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

tuttāri 70 n.20
tubaḍi Mol. *tuṃbaḍī* (no.6,1.61; no.8,1.16)
tumacā 60
tumhā kaḍila 60
tumhi 60
turakasthāna (no.31,1.8 & n.1)
te for *ti* for *tī* 54
(-)teṃ dative suffix 75
teṇe(ṃ) 74 75
terikha 71
taiseṃ 75
tophayā 51 52
tophā 51 52 67 68 73
tophiyā 51 52 73
tophiyāṃ 51 52
tyā 74 81
theṃ 55 56
dakhale 71
daṇḍa 39
daphe 67
daragujara 67
darajavāba 67
daravilā 53 56 71
daravillā 53 56
darāyeda 53 55 56 68
dariṃvilā 53 56
darīṃ 53
darīṃvilā 71
dastagāhaḥ,-hā,-hāḥ,-ṃhā,-hāṃ 68 69
dastagāhā – dustagaha 13 n.20
dastār 70 n.20
dāṃ 49 50
dāima 49 50
dākhala 71
dānasaphara – Bansafur 13 n.20
dāma 49 50
dāṃma 50
digara 53 56
dije 62 79
didhalā 77
didhali 77
didhaleṃ 77
dila 68 69 77 85
dilahā 77
dilahi 77
dilahyā 77
dilhā 77
dilhe 77
dilhyā 77
divaṇa Mol. *divāṇa* (no.6, 9 times)
divaṇāuna 59
divasiṃ 75
dusta 47 69 70
dustā 70 n.20
deuuna (no.10 n.1)
deuna (no.10 n.1)
dekhala 71
dekhīla 71
deṇeṃ 75 ff.
dosticyā, dostice 62
daulatahu 50 52
dyāveṃyāce 73
dyāveyāsa 73
dyāveṃyāsa 73
nakhti 71 (no.3 n.1)
nagadī 71 (no.3 n.1)
nāgayā 69 70 n.20
nāyakan 70 n.20
nāyagan 70 n.20
nāveṃ 73
nikkhaḷa 72
niraṃtara 85
nilakha 72
niśiṃ 54 56
niścaye, niścayeṃ 72 74
niśceye, niśceṃye 72
nisi 54 74
nisiṃ 54 56 63
nyāyaniti 72
nyāyamārga 72
nyāyavaṃta 72
nyāyeniti 72

nyāyemārga 72
nyāyemārgeṃ 74
nyāyevaṃta 72
pa.hu.ra.ma. 52
paṭavije 79
paṭhābhiṣeka 72
pathaka- [...] Mol. *patakara, kāra* or *karā* (no.38,1.11)
pathaka- [...] 72
panāhā,-āḥ, -āha, -āhāṃ 68 69
parabhāreṃ 73
paḷaṃganavisa 52
pāuna (no.23,1.52 & n.4)
pāula (no.23 n.4)
pāṭavaṇesa 73
pāṭavāveṃyāceṃ 73
pāṭaviṇeṃ 72
pāvaṭeṃ karaṇeṃ 55
pāvona 59
pāhanyāṃta (no.24,1.57-58 & n.6)
pāharyāṃta (no.24 n.6)
pāhije 61 79
pudaceri 84
puduceri 84
pulacera 84
pustī 29
perāvā 69
peṣakaṣi Mol. *peśakaśa* or *ṣa* (no.31,1.9)
pesaji Mol. *peśajī* or *peśa-jīṃ* (nos.37,38,42,45)
peharāva, -vā 69
paikayāci 73
paivastagi Mol. *paivastī* (no.20,1.28; no.21,1.42)
poṃhacāvaṇeṃ 55
pyāra 62 63
prakāreṃ 73
pratāpa 38
prati 85
pramāṇa 54 56
pramāṇeṃ 74
praviṣṭa 55 56
prasitdha 72
prasiddha 72
pharaṃgi 70 74
pharāsi 74
phiraṃgī 70
philahāla 67
phute Mol. *pūrtta* (no.51,1.17)
phurte(ṃ) Mol. *pūrtta* (no.51,1.13; no.52,1.11)
phurteṃ 72
ba. 54
bajāija 70 71
bajāneba Ste. 352
bajāneba 52
baṃdara – bandar 13 n.20
badastura Mol. *dastūra* (no.41,1.6)
baba Mol. *bāba* (no.6,1.39)
babati 54 56
babeṃ 73
bayāṃvāreṃ 73
balāu for *bolāu* (no.17,1.10 & n.1)
balāuna for *bolāuna* (no.25,1.48 & n.3)
bā. 54
bāuṭha Mol. *bāhuṭā* (no.35,1.4; no.36,1.6)
bāje 67
bādaṣāhā(sa)? (no.31,1.8 & n.1)
bādhya 65 66
bābata 54 56
bābati 54 56
bābeṃ 73
bālaṇe for *bolaṇe* (no.29,1.21 & n.2)
bǎje 67
bǎdhya 65 66
bǎdhyascha 65 66
bǎbati 53 54 56
bǎbǎji 37
bǎbǎti 51 54 56
bǎmojibǎ 53 55
bichāitī 70 71

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

bijhāīta 70 71
bidānaṃda Paṭ. *bidānanda*
bidānaṃda 52
belāna for *bolāuna* (no.6,1.57 & n.4)
bolaṇe (no.29 n.2)
bolatāti 76
bolāu (no.17 n.1)
bolāuna (no.6 n.4; no.25 n.3)
bhaṇije 79
makasuda Ste. 1294
makasuda 58 63
makhaliśāna 68 69
maghāreṃ Mol. *māghārā* or *rāṃ* or *rīṃ* or *reṃ* (no.12,1.7)
maghāreṃ 73
majakuriṃ 75
majarā 70
maṇāvayāce = *mhaṇāvayāce*
maṇuna 59 72 80
madhesti 72
madhyaschi 71
madhyasthi 72
mamalakatamadāra Mol. *māmalatadāra* (no.2,1.6-7; no.3,1.12)
mayā Mol. *maiyā*
mayātaina Mol. *maiyā, maiyātāina*
maryāde 74
marhāmata 67 68
mahatābi 67 (no.18 trsl. n.2)
mahabata 63
māganāsa 65
māghāṇa 65 66
māghāreṃ 73
mānāveṃyāsa 73
māba 69
māba – *maub* 13 n.20
māmāledāra Mol. *māmalatadāra* (no.6,1.33; no.32,1.20)
māhāladāra Mol. *mahālakarī* (nos.11,12,17,23,24,25)
mukāma 70 71
mukhāṃtareṃ 73
mujarā 70
muñja 29
murvata-śārī 69
mulāja 69
muluka (no.29 n.3)
muṣaphaka 69
mustaida Mol. *musteda* (no.29,1.16)
muharrir 67
muhre 67
muḷika (no.29,1.23-24 & n.3)
muḷeṃ 74
'*mokāma* 70 71
mokāma – *mogam* 13 n.20
mokhaliśāni, -sāni, -śāna, -sāna, -ṣāna, -sāṃna, -sāṃ, -śāṃ, -śā 69
moḍa 24
mophasala 67
mortabu Mol. *morttaba*
mortabu 52
mohabata 62
mohabatahu 50 71
mohabatarhu 62 71
mohabǎta 62
mohabǎta – *mogabut* 13 n.20
mohare 74
mohavala Paṭ. *māhavala*
mohavala 58 63
mohibāna, -bāṃna, -bina 69
mohibi Ste.1182 (no.2,1.7-8)
mauryī 25
mhaṇaṇeṃ 79
mhaṇaṇāra 80
mhaṇāvayāce vartamāna 80
mhaṇije 79
mhaṇuna 79 80 81
mhaṇauna 59 79
mhaṇaunu 60
yathā 72
yadanimitya 72
yanmuḷeṃ 72
yavan (no.6 trsl. n.3)
yā 81

Digitized by Google   Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

yādāsta 53 54 55 56
yādi 54 55
yādi pramāṇeṃ 55
yādidāsta 53 55 56
yā(d)dāsta 56
yāṃniṃ – yanee 13 n.20
yāveṃ 61
yāveyāci 73
yāṃsi 55
yā(ṃ)si 74 75
yāṃsi – yansee 13 n.20
yeka 70
yekalāsa 70 72
yekhalāsa – akalasa 13 n.20
yeṇa (verb) 54 61
yeṇe(ṃ) (verb) 53 61
yeṇe(ṃ) (pronoun) 74 75
yeṇecā 54
yeṇesa 54 56
yetāti 76
yethā 72
yethila 58
yedanimitya 72
yedarthiṃ 75
yenmuḷeṃ 72 75
yelaṃ for *velaṃ* for *veḷaṃ* (no.48 n.4)
yeva (no.6 trsl. n.3)
yevaja (no.6 trsl. n.3)
yaikuna 70
yaiyāsa (no.6,1.57 & n.3)
yaivaja 70
yaisājo ... jaisā 75
yaisiyāsa (no.6 n.3)
yaiseṃ 75
yaiseṃjeṃ Mol. *asāje*
yaiseṃjeṃ 58 75 80
rakhtakhānā Ste. 572
rakhtakhāne 52
rajaba 72
rajeba 72 73
rayata 72
rayeta 72 73
ravadāra Ste. 590 (no.33,1.22; no.34,1.22; no.47,1.23)
rasida 53 56
rājeśrie (no.6,1.10,36 & n.1)
rita for *karita* (no.23,1.45 & n.3)
rūperī aphajāna kāgada 13 n.21
rojeśri (no.6,1.21,50 & n.1)
laśakara 71
laṣakara 71
laskara 71
lām 39
lihije 79
lihijeleṃ 79
lihiṇe 62
lihita 61
lyāhāveyā 73
lyāhāveṃyā 73
vakhtiṃ 73
vajārata Mol. *vajirāta*
vajārata – vajarut 13 n.20
vajārata māba 69
vaṭa 65 66
vaṭṭa 65
vaḍaka 65 66
varadi 65
varudi 65
vartamāna 80
vardi 65 66
valā 65 66
vājabī 71
vājibi 71
vājebi 71
vāḍhaṇeṃ 72
vāra in *vāra suda* Mol. *bā-ra* (no.3,1.5)
vāraka 65 66
vārāveyāsa 73
vārtā 65
vāhaḍavita 72
vidyamāneṃ 74
vilā 53
vilāti Mol. *vilāyata* (no.4,1.4 & 7)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

viśeṣa 53 61
vistāreṃ 74
visvāseṃ 74
vīrakaravāsinī 38
vr̥ttam 65
vr̥tdhi 72
vr̥ddhi 72
vevhāra 72
veḷaṃ (no.48 n.4)
vaikāci 66
vaikhāsi 66
vaiśākha 66
vyavahāra 72
vyasanascha 71
śakti-pīṭha 38
śaraphaji, śeraphoji 47 (l.30-32)
śādamāni 54 56
śādamānī 63
śāri 69
śāla 55
śnehamārgeṃ 74
śrī 38
śrīpratāpa 38
śrī rāmapratāpa 38
ṣādamāni Mol. *śādamānī*
ṣādamāni 54 56 61
ṣābana Mol. *śābāna* (no.22,l.9 & 11)
ṣābani 75
saṃcharacā (no.5,l.25 & n.1)
saṃtoṣā 75
saṃtoṣeṃ 74
sadākata 69
saṃduka (no.31,l.8 & n.1)
saphari 75
saba Mol. *sabāṃ*
samāgameṃ 74 (no.24 n.7; no.25 n.5)
samāgeṃ (no.24,l.58 & n.7; no.25,l.52 & n.5)
sarakāra 53 56 74
sarakārāsa 54
saṃrakṣaṇa (no.29 trsl. n.1)
sarakhela 52
sarabarā- [...] 67
sarahāda Mol. *sarahada* (no.43,l.12)
sarvakṣaṇa (no.29 trsl. n.1)
salamahulāhutālā Ste.792+95+307 (no.25,l.1-2)
salamulāhutālā Ste.792+95+307 (nos.43,50,52, 53,55,57,58)
salāma – salam 13 n.20
salāsa Mol. *sallāsa*
saṃvachara 54 56
saṃvatsara 54 56
saveṃ 37 73
saṃve 37 73
sayora 50
saṃyora 50
saṃsthāna 74
sākina Ste.642 (nos.39,42,46)
sāṃgale for *cāṃgale* (no.6,l.43 & n.2)
sāda 69
sādamāni 54 56 63
sādhaka (no.11,l.14 & n.1)
sādhakeṃ (no.24,l.56 & n.5; no.25,l.50 & n.4)
sādhana (no.11 n.1)
sādhaneṃ (no.24 n.5; no.25 n.4)
sābaka 67
sāhebiṃ 74
sita Mol. *śīta*
sitābi Mol. *śitābī* (no.12,l.13)
sitaina Mol. *śitaina*
sipāi Mol. *śipāī* (no.17,l.37)
siyora 50
siṃyora 50
suālimokārā 67 68 (no.2,l.13-14 & n.1)
suda Ste.590 (nos.1,3,5,33,34,47)
suda 52
surakṣiteṃ 74
suratyā 71

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

suraḷyā 71
surunavisa 52
suhura sana Mol. *surasanna*
sūra 71
seṃ 80
senhor (Portuguese) 50
saiṃ Mol. *saī* (no.6,1.74)
saiṃ 62
sonerī aphajāna kāgada 13 n.21
sthali 75
snehamārgeṃ 74
hakikata 61 63
hajarata Mol. *hujarā-*
ta (nos.3,5,33,34,47)
hajura 70
hajuriṃ 75
habasāna 14 n.21
hamarāhā 67
hameśā 61 63
harakāriyācā 73
hāśīla 71
hāsala 71
hirā? (no.31,1.8)
hu 38 39
hu = J 39
hujuranavisa 52
hujūra 70
huwa 39 n.24
he kitābata 63
he kitābati 62
he vartamāna 80
hejiba 69
hoije 79
hoṇeṃ 75 ff.
hon 83
hoyeje 79

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Subject & Name index

Western personal names are listed under family name, Oriental personal names according to usage, i.e. under family name if occurring in Western context, otherwise under first name. The names of towns are spelt according to the Times Index, Gazetteer of the world, London 1965 with the exception of Poona and Tanjore; these are written in the English spelling of the time of the documents. Abbreviations: n.(ote) Tr.(anquebar) References are to pages and to documents (no.)

ABBESTÉE P., governor of Tr. 16 23 (nos.7-13,17-28)
'ABDUL HAQ M. 24 n.2 47
ADAṂJURA APĀSĀMI of Mayuram (nos.24,25)
ADELER S., governor of Tr. 22
AHAṂJURA APĀSĀMI of Mayuram (no.24 n.2)
AMARASIṂHA, king of Tanjore 17 22 (nos.23-28,30-33)
AMBĀBĀĪ family deity 38
AṂṆĀJI RĀU SEṬAGE, revenue officer (no.2)
AṂṆĀJI RĀVA SEṬAGE, revenue officer (no.3)
ANADA RĀVA, peshwa (no.3)
ĀṆAJI TYĀGARĀJA PAṂDITA, sarakhela (no.62)
ANAṂDA RĀU, peshwa (no.5)
ANAṂDA RĀVA, peshwa (nos.33,34,47)
ANDERSEN KONGSBAKKE E., governor of Tr. 22
ANDRAE A., governor of Tr. 22
ANDRONOV M. 45 & n.4
ANDRONOV M.S. 64-65 n.19
ANKER P., governor of Tr. 23 (nos.29-38,40-42,44-46)
anusvāra 37
APĀJI NILAKAṂTA SUṂKARĀMA SEṬI of Pondicherry (no.25)
APTE D.V. 62
APTE M.L. 46
APU PIḶE, dubash (no.18)
ARI PILI of Tanjore (no.1)
ARUṆOJI(Ṃ) BHOṂSALE, mediator (nos.7,8,10)
ATRE T.N., proposal to expand use of Moḍī 26 & n.11 27 28 29
BĀBĀJI GAṂGĀDHARA, vakil (nos.49-50,53-58)
BĀBĀJI RĀMĀJI PA(Ṃ)ḌITA, sarakhela (nos.51-58,60,61)
Bālabodha script 24-29
BAḶĀJI, havildar (no.6)
BĀLĀJĪ AVAJĪ, secretary of state 24
BĀLĀJI RĀVA SIṂDE, mediator (no.13)
BENTINCK W., resident 18
BHANDARKAR R.G. 26 n.12
Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃśodhana Maṃḍala, Poona 11 29 n.18
BHAVĀNĪ, goddess 38
BHIMA RĀVA of Tanjore (nos.14,15)
BILLE G.S., governor of Tr. 23
BLADT P., governor of Tr. 22
BLOCH J. 44 & n.1 45 & n.3 56 & n.12 75
BLUHME C. of Tr. 13 n.20
BLUMHARDT J.F. 10 n.6
BOMBAY 26 (no.29)
BONSACH H.E., governor of Tr. 15

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

23 (no.4)
BONSACH I., governor of Tr. 23 (no.3)
Brāhmī script 25 & n.8
BRINCH-SEIDELIN H.D., governor of Tr. 23
BROWN D., governor of Tr. 17 23 (nos.14-16)
BRUN LUNDEGAARD C., governor of Tr. 23
BURROW T. 45 64 & n.19 65
CABATON A. 9 n.3
calendar Christian, Hindu, Muslim 40-43
calendar Christian, equivalent to Muslim and Hindu dates 40 n.1
CALNEYN W.H. see under KALNEIN
CAṂDĀ KHĀNA (no.8)
CANDORKAR G.K. 25 n.8
CAREY W. 25 & n.9 26 & n.10 78
CARSTENSEN C., governor of Tr. 23
Cenāpaṭaṇā (nos.8,30,31) see also under Madras
CHANANA D.R. 44 n.1
CHATTERJI S.K. 44
CHANDRASEKHARAN T. 11 n.13 25 n.4 & 6
CHRISTENSEN L., governor of Tr. 23
CHRISTIAN IV, king of Denmark and Norway
treaty with Raghunātha Nāyaka 12 (nos.33,34,47)
consonants
doubling of 53 56
changes of 71-72
sibilants 54 59
COOLHAAS W.P. 10 n.5
CRAPPÉ R., governor of Tr. 22
DAMLE M.K. (no.32 n.5)
DĀNĀSI PIḶE, dubash (no.23)
Danes & the Dutch 16 17 & n. 27
& the English 16-21
& the Muslims 17
& the Tanjore king 18-21 trade on Asia 16
DĀNIŚA PILE, dubash (no.26)
Danish mission & the colony 17
Danish translations of documents 14
DĀNIYE PILE, dubash (no.27)
DATĀJI APĀ, sarakhela (no.34)
DATTĀJI APĀ, sarakhela (nos.37-42)
DĀYETA MOHADINA KHĀNA (no.8)
Delhi 10 11
Devāmganelura (nos.33,34,47)
Devanāgarī script 38
DIKSHIT M.G. 25 n.7 78
DIRINGER D. 25 n.3 & 5
documents
background 8
dating 14
head 38 39 & n.24
historical background 14 ff.
ornaments 14
paper quality 13 14 & n.21
period covered 9
size 8
state of preservation 14
translations 14
in Western collections 9 ff.
DRĀ(Ṃ)KṢĀBĀLA SEṬI, merchant (nos.23-25)
DRĀṂKṢĀMĀPIḶE SEṬI, merchant (nos.24,25)
Dravidian
contact with Marāṭhī 45 46
features shared by Marāṭhī 44 45
influence upon Indo-Aryan 44-46
vocabulary in Tanjore Marāṭhī 64-66 82-84

Digitized by Google
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Dutch archives in India 10
The Dutch & the Danes 17 & n.27
DZENIT S.T. 64-65 n.19
East India Company of England, acquisition of Tr. 12
EGGERS H., governor of Tr. 22
ELPHINSTONE M.S., resident, Poona 63
EMENEAU M.B. 45 64 & n.19 65
English language used in correspondence 13 & n.20
English occupaton of Tr. 12 18
FELDBAEK O., 16 n.24
FILIPSKÝ J. 64-65 n.19
FILLIOZAT J. 64-65 n.19 70 n.20
FORCK J., governor of Tr. 23
French archives in India 9
French capture of Nagore 16
FULLER C.J. 40 n.1
GADRE 10 & n.7 11
GANESHSUNDARAM P.C. 47 57 n.14
GAUDART E. 9 n.1
German translations of documents 14
GIEDDE O., governor of Tr. 12 22
GOḌA RĀVA (no.6)
GOPĀḶA RĀYA, vakil (nos.36-46)
Gothic script used in translations of documents 14
GOVIṂDA RĀVA NIVĀJI MOHITE, sarakhela (nos.44-47)
GOVIDA RĀVA MUTDHOJI, vakil (no.61)
GOVIṂDA RĀVA YUTDHOJI, vakil (no.60)
GRIERSON G. A. 26 56 n.13 57 & n.15-16
GUMPERZ J.J. 46 & n.6 47
GUPTE B.A. 24 n.1 25 n.4
HAIDAR ALI see under HYDER ALI
HALKIER, mediator 19 (no.46)
HAṆAMAṂTA RĀVA BHOṂSALE, mediator (nos.11-13)
HANSEN P., governor of Tr. 23
HANSEN ATTRUP R., governor of Tr. 23
HANSEN KORSØR P., governor of Tr. 22
HARTMANN M., governor of Tr. 22
HASSIUS (LILLIENPALM) J.S., governor of Tr. 23
HATALKAR V.G. (no.29 n.2)
HEMĀḌPANT, minister 25 29
HERMANSEN BJØRN J., governor of Tr. 23
HERMANSON P., governor of Tr. 19 23 58 (nos.44-47)
HERMONSON see under HERMANSON
Hindu calendar 40-43
HØYER C.F., governor of Tr. 23 (no.6)
HOLKIER see under HALKIER
HYDER ALI of Mysore (no.29)
HYMES Dell 45 n.5 46 n.6
Indo-Aryan influenced by Dravidian 44-46
JALADU SADĀSIVA of Pondicherry (no.24)
JALADU SADĀSIVA SEṬI of Pondicherry (nos.23-25)
JIVAṆA RĀVA SIVĀJI PAṂḌITA (no.33)
JØRGENSEN of Tr. (no.61)
JOHN, missionary (no.28)
JUEL A., governor of Tr. 22
KALNEIN W.H., governor of Tr. 22
van KAN J. 10 n.4
KANHERE S.G. 10 n.6
KARAVĪRA, śaktipīṭha 38
Karikal 9 10
KELKAR K.G. 27 n.13

Digitized by Google
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KELKAR N.C. 28 n.17 29 & n.19
KELKAR Y.N. 29 n.19 39 n.24 72 (no.29 n.3)
KHOBREKAR V.G. 78 80
KHĀVA NĀIKA (no.5)
KINCAID C.A., district judge, Poona move to abolish Moḍī 27 28 & n.16 29
KIRTANE M.V. 27 n.14
KITTEL F. 64-65 n.19
KLAUMANN F.C.C., assistant secretary (no.16)
KNUDSEN CRONE M., governor of Tr. 23
KOEFOED J., governor of Tr. 20 23 (no.48)
Kolhapur 38
KONOW S. 26 56 n.13 57 & n.15-16
A. KRISHNASWAMI MAHADICK RAO SAHIB of Tanjore 14 n.21 52 n.11
KRISK PANCK P. 23 (no.2)
KROG H.G. 16 23 (nos.5,6 & n.4)
KULKARNI K.P. 23
KULKARNI N.H. 11 n.14
KULKARNI S.R. 46 n.7
Kumbakonam (nos.23-25)
Kupwar 46
Kuttalam (no.17)
de LALLY, count (no.8)
surrender of Pondicherry 9
LAURSEN L. 12 n.15
LEYEL W., governor of Tr. 22
v. LICHTENSTEIN F.J.P., governor of Tr. 23 (no.18)
MĀDHAVA RĀVA NĀRĀYEṆA, peshwa, Poona 9 (no.29)
Madras 10 11 18 see also under Cenāpaṭaṇā
Madras State Archives, Egmore 10
Mahābaḷeśvara 38
Mahālakṣmī Ambābāī, family deity 38
Marāṭhī
contact with Dravidian 45 46
features shared with Dravidian 44 45
historical origins 45
influenced by Persian 47
having two scripts 26 & n.11
MARTINEAU A. 9 n.2
MĀSILĀMAṆI PIḶE of Tranquebar (no.42)
MASTER A. 44 45 n.3 59 n.17 60 & n.18
Mayuram (nos.6,11,17,23-25)
metathesis 72
MEYER P.H., governor of Tr. 23
Moḍī script
abolition 27-29
bridegroom's test 29
charts 30-37
name 24 25
origin 24 25 29
printing 25 26 & n.10
size 8
transliteration 36 37
use 24-27
MØLLER C. of Tr. (no.62)
MOHAMMAD ALI of Karnatak 16 17
MOLESWORTH J.T. 24 29 n.20 53 57 58 64 69 70 & n.20 71 72
monetary units and fractions 39
de MONTIGNY, vakil (no.29 n.2)
MOTINA 'Monsieur', vakil (no.29 & n.2)
MOURIER K.E., governor of Tr. 23 (nos.51-53,55-60)
Muslim calendar 40-43
Muslims in Tanjore 10 16
MÜHLDORFF M., mediator 18 (no.32 n.4, no. 46)
MÜHLENFORT D., governor of

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Tr. 23
Mysore 46
NAGAYEN 69
Nagapattinam 10 16 (no.6)
Nagore 16 (no.6)
NARANA 'Monsieur', vakil (no.29)
NARASIṂGA RĀVA of Tanjore (nos.3,5)
Nastaliq script 24
National Archives of Denmark 9 12 13 n.19
National Archives of India, Tanjore records 10 11
NAVALKAR G.R. 55 78 79
v. NISSEN C.U., governor of Tr. 23 (no.1)
nouns
archaic ablative 59 75
archaic dative 74-75
archaic instrumental 73 74
archaic locative 75
archaic oblique 51 52 54 73
ØVRE, mediator 18 19 (nos.39,42,43,46)
Old Marāṭhī used in Tanjore 51 52 54 59 60 62 73-79
OTURKAR R.V. 62
PANCK P.K., governor of Tr. 23 (no.2)
PANDIT P.B. 46
PARAMEŚVARA, agent (no.6)
PARANJPE of the Fergusson College 28
PARASNIS D.B. 22 n.45
Paris 9
PATHAN Y.M. 47
PAṬVARDHAN M.T. 47 66-72
PATWARDHAN S.V. 27 n.15
PERAMĀḶA NĀIKA, district warden (nos.2,6,11,13)
Persian influence on Marāṭhī 47
Persian & Arabic vocabulary in Tanjore Marāṭhī 53-55 61 66 ff. 82-84
PESGAR PATTE ALY? (no.29 n.3)
PESSART B., governor of Tr. 22
PHATE ĀLI = TIPU SULTAN? (no.29 n.3)
PIḶE of Tranquebar (no.15)
PILLAI S-K. see under SVĀMIKANNU PILLAI
PIRENNE L.P.L. 10 n.4
Piśācī lipi 29
Pondicherrey 9 (nos.8,23-25,29)
Poona 9 11 21 27 28 29 n.18 37 38 41-43 51 53 58-64 68-71 74-85
PORCK C., governor of Tr. 22
Poreiar (no.43)
Portuguese language 12 50 51
postpositions with instrumental 74
postpositions *kāraṇeṃ & karitāṃ* 81
Pratāpagaḍa 38
PRATĀPASIṂHA, king of Tanjore 12 n.17 15 16 22 (nos.3-7,26)
PRIOLKAR A.K. 26 n.10
pronouns
to addressee 60
archaic forms 54 55 60 74 75
pronominal adverb *theṃ* 55
punctuation
dash 38
space of respect 38
RAESIDE I.M.P. 46 52 n.10 (no.4 n., no.6 n.3, no.29 n.3, no.44 n.1, no.59 n.2)
RAGHUNĀTHA NĀYAKA of Tanjore
treaty with Christian IV 12
RAGHUNĀTHA PAṂḌITA of Tanjore (nos.21,22)
RAHAMATA KHĀNA, advocate (no.31)
RĀJASABĀI, princess of Tanjore (no.59)
RAJAYYAN K. 11 n.10 17 n.25

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

RĀMA, epic hero 21
RĀMABHADRA PIḶE of RĀMA NĀIKA, district warden (nos.11,12)
RĀMACAṂDRA RĀVA NĀGEŚA, vakil (no.29)
RĀMACEDRA NĀIKA, district warden (no.17)
RĀMADĀSA, saint 38
RĀMALIṂGA NĀIKA, district warden (no.2)
RĀMA NĀIKA, district warden (nos.11,13)
RĀMASVĀMI ĀPĀ, merchant (no.43)
Rameswaram 25
RAMOJEE SERJEE ROW GANTIKEH, sarakhela 13 n.20
RĀMOJI SARJYE RĀVA GHĀṂṬAKE, sarakhela (nos.49,50)
RĀVAṆA, epic giant 21 25
receipts 49 ff.
archaic oblique 51 52
obsolete words in 52
REHLING J. of Tr. 23 (no.54)
reminders 52ff.
archaic oblique 54
syntax 53
vocabulary 53-55
RESTORFF A.F., governor of Tr. 23
Revadaṃḍā (no.29)
RISE HANSEN C. 12 n.16 & 18 13 n.19 14 22 n.46
SADĀSIVA SEṬI, merchant (nos.23-25)
ŚAHĀJI, king of Tanjore 22
ŚAṂKARĀJI SAṂBHĀJI of Tanjore (nos.24-25)
ŚAṂKARA RĀYA, brother of sarakhela SIVARĀYA (no.23)
Sanskrit terms of polite adress 84
Sanskrit vocabulary in Tanjore Marāṭhī 82-84
ŚARAPHAJI I., king of Tanjore 15 22 (no.1)
SCHØNHEYDER U.A., governor of Tr. 23 (nos.49-50)
SCHUTTE G.J. 10 n.5
SCHWARTZ C.F., missionary 17 & n.26 (nos.26-28)
scripts see under
Bālabodha
Brāhmī
Devanāgarī
Gothic
Moḍī
Nastaliq
Piśācī
Shikasta
seals
imprints 8
reproduction 8
text 38
SEN S.N. 14
Serampore 26 n.10
ŚERAPHOJI II., king of Tanjore 11 & n.12 13 & n.20 17-22 47 57 58 (nos.34-37,40,43-49,51,52)
ŚEṢĀCELA SEṬI, merchant (nos.10 23-26)
SHEJWALKAR T.S. 48 n.8
SHELVANKAR R.S. 10 n.8 14
Shikasta script 24
Shiyali (no.24)
SIṂVHARĀJA NARAHARI PAṂḌITA of Tanjore (nos.14-18)
ŚIVĀJĪ the Great 24 25 38
ŚIVĀJI, king of Tanjore 21 22 52 n.11 (nos.51,52,56,59,60)
SIVARĀYA, sarakhela (nos.23,27)
SIVARĀVA SAṂBHĀJI, sarakhela (nos.30,31)
SIVARĀVA SAMBHĀJI PAṂḌI-

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TA of Tanjore (no.32)
SONAJI APĀ of Tanjore (no.36)
SOUTHWORTH F.C. 45 & n.5 46 & n.7
śrī use 38 & n.23
SRIDHAR S.N. 47
STAPEL F.W. 16 n.23
STEIN B. 46 n.7
STEINGASS F. 39 n.24 67-69
STEWART C. 39 n.23
STRANDBERG E. 17 n.26
subordination of sentences 79-80
SUBRAMHAṆI SEṬI, dubash (nos.23-25)
SUBRAMONIAM V.I. 47 57 n.14
SUKAVĀRA (no.23)
ŚUKU PIḶE of Tr. (no.42)
SUṂKARĀMA SEṬI, merchant (no.23)
SUṂKA ŚEṢĀCELA MĀ of Pondicherry (nos.24-25)
SUṂKA ŚEṢĀCELA SEṬI of Pondicherry (nos.23-25)
SVĀMI-KANNU PILLAI 40 n.1 (no.7 n.1, no.9 n.1, no.28 n.1)
TAṂḌĀCI PIḶE, dubash (no.18)
Tamil used in correspondence 13
TĀNĀCI PIḶE, dubash? (nos.31-32)
TĀNĀSI PIḶE, dubash (nos.19,24,25)
TAṆḌICI PIḶE, dubash (no.16)
Tanjore administration
district wardens 15
size 52
Tanjore correspondence with
Karikal 9 10
Nagapattinam 10
Pondicherry 9
Tanjore dispute with Denmark 12
Tanjore kings
annual present to Tr. 19
& the Danes 18 19
polite phrases 57
seal 38
signature 38
Tanjore Marāṭhī
background for 48
in correspondence 13
court language 9
court style and private style 85
earlier description of 46 47
development 81-82
Dravidian vocabulary 64-66 82-84
formula type of language 49 ff. 57 ff. 62 63
literary style 48
loans in Tamil 47
nasalisation 70
palatal on-glide *y-* 70
svarabhakti 71
Persian & Arabic vocabulary 53-55 61 66 ff. 82-84
polite phrases 57
Sanskrit vocabulary 82-84
spoken language 46 n.7
vocabulary, changes in proportion of Marāṭhī, Dravidian, Persian & Arabic, Sanskrit 82-84
see also under consonants, metathesis, nouns, postpositions, pronouns, subordination, verbs, vowels
Tanjore records
Agency, Collector's, Raj, Resident's 10
distribution after Independence 10 11
Tanjore sarakhela & the English 20
TAYLOR W. 11 n.13
THULAJARAMA RAO K. 10 n.9
THURSTON E. (no.26 n.2, no.48 n.2 & 3)
TIEMROTH C., governor of Tr. 23
Tikaṭura, Trikaṭura

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(nos.3,5,31,33,34,47)
TIPU SULTAN of Mysore (no.29 n.3)
Tiravaḍakali, Trivaḍakali (nos.20-22, 31)
TIRUCHIRAPALLI (no.8)
Trikaḷāceri (nos.16,23,24,31)
Trikaṭura see under Tikaṭura
TRIMALA RĀYA, banker (nos.23-25)
TRIṂBAKA RĀVA of Tanjore (nos.33,34, 47)
Tri(ṃ)vaṃgāḍi (nos.23-25)
Trivaḍakali see under Tiravaḍakali
TUKOJI, king of Tanjore 22
TUḶAJĀ, king of Tanjore 16 17 22 38 50 (nos.9-11,13-22,26)
TULPULE S.G. 14 n.21 27 n.15 28 n.17 29 & n.18 38 45 n.2 46 & n.7 47 48 n.9 65 69 72 n.21 78 79 n.22
UMARI M.Y.K. 47
VALENTIA, Viscount 21
VEṂKĀJI GOVIṂDA, vakil (no.62)
verbs
archaic absolutive 59
archaic future 76
archaic infinitive 62
archaic passive 79
passive *mhaṇije* not found 79
archaic past participles of *asaṇeṃ*, *deṇeṃ* and *hoṇeṃ* 76-78
past participles extended, truncated 55, 77-79
archaic present 75-76
VIRARĀGHAVA AYEṂGĀRA, vakil (nos.44,45)
VIRARĀGHAVA(Ṃ) YE(Ṃ)GĀRA, vakil (nos.37,38)
VOIGT C., governor of Tr. 22
vowels
anusvāra 37 70
changes in initial, non-initial and final position 54 56 57 61 70-71
svarabhakti 71
VYAṂKOJI, king of Tanjore 15 22
WALTER T.C., member of government, Tr. (nos.23-25)
WICHMAND, captain (no.16)
WILSON H.H. 53 67
WILSON R. 46 & n.6 47
YULE H. 67
ØVRE = OEVRE

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THE MOḌĪ DOCUMENTS FROM TANJORE IN DANISH COLLECTIONS

Edited, translated and analysed by

Elisabeth Strandberg

DANSK RESUMÉ

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Byen Tranquebar på sydøstkysten af det indiske subkontinent var under dansk administration og sæde for guvernementet af de danske besiddelser i Indien fra 162o og indtil koloniernes salg til det britiske East India Company i 1845. De vigtigste sprog, der taltes og stadig tales i denne del af subkontinentet, hører til den dravidiske sprogæt. I 1674 erobrede imidlertid en fyrsteslægt fra nord, fra Mahārāṣṭra, det sydindiske kongerige Tanjore (Thanjavur), hvorunder Tranquebar hørte. Fyrsteslægten talte det i Mahārāṣṭra fremherskende sprog marāṭhī, som hører til den indoeuropæiske sprogæt. Det er den diplomatiske korrespondance fra Tanjore marāṭha kongerne til guvernørerne over Tranquebar, der her offentliggøres for første gang og som udgør stammen i det foreliggende arbejde.

Det forhold at det anvendte sprog er det indoariske marāṭhī udviklet langt fra Mahārāṣṭra og under stadig påvirkning fra dravidisk, gør materialet særligt værdifuldt for sprogforskningen.

62 breve er bevaret, dateret fra 1725 til

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1844, d.v.s. to trediedele af den periode, hvori marāṭhī var hofsprog i Tanjore; i 1855 afviste det britiske East India Company at godkende nogen af tronprætendenterne, og fyrsteslægten måtte give afkald på tronen.

De danske samlingers dokumenter fra Tanjore marāṭha kongerne har vist sig at være enestå-i europæiske arkiver, idet tilsvarende breve til øvrigheden på de franske, hollandske og engelske besiddelser på den sydindiske østkyst for de flestes vedkommende er gået tabt i Indien og Indonesien, medens nogle eventuelt stadig forefindes i statsarkivet i Madras, dog er de indtil videre utilgængelige for forskningen. Alene de danske myndigheder sørgede for at bringe originaldokumenterne til Europa.

Brevene er på moḍī, den til verdslige formål dengang foretrukne skrift for marāṭhī. Denne stenografiagtige skrift blev afskaffet i Mahārāṣṭra i begyndelsen af dette århundrede, idet mindre end 5% af de europæiske embedsmænd da var i stand til at tyde den. Kun få indere kan læse den idag, og ingen vestlig forsker har

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hidtil udgivet kilder på moḍī.

Efter en beskrivelse af materialet og den historiske baggrund for korrespondancen starter selve afhandlingen med et kapitel om moḍī skriftens historie med tavler over normal moḍī og de 37 vigtigste varianter, som er i brug i det her præsenterede materiale. I det følgende analyseres brugen af de forskellige muslimske, hinduistiske og kristne tidsregninger i dokumenterne. Det vil ses at det er de muslimske og den kristne tidsregning, der bruges som hovedtidsregninger; den hinduistiske kalender, som var almindeligt anvendt i Tanjore udenfor hofkredse, bruges som støttetidsregning.

Spørgsmålet om den dravidiske sprogæts indflydelse på udviklingen af de indoariske sprog i almindelighed og marāṭhī i særdeleshed indleder kapitlet om Tanjore marāṭhī sproget. Det kan konstateres at det foreliggende arbejde er det første studie af Tanjore marāṭhī, idet hidtil intet andet kildemateriale er blevet tilgængeliggjort for forskningen, og to studier fra 1970'erne og 1980'erne af talt Tanjore marāṭhī ikke har resulteret i publikatio-

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ner. De særlige sociolingvistiske forhold, der betingede udviklingen af dette specielle marāṭhī under fornyet dravidisk påvirkning i Tanjore, diskuteres.

Det følgende afsnit analyserer sprogformularerne som de finder anvendelse og udvikler sig i de mere stereotype dele af korrespondancen; vægten lægges på træk, hvori Tanjore marāṭhī adskiller sig fra almindeligt marāṭhī som kendt fra Poona. Afsnittet om det ikke-formularprægede Tanjore marāṭhī indledes med lister over gloser, som ikke figurerer i standard Poona marāṭhī. I et appendix hertil gøres der forsøg på rent statistisk at vise forskellene i vokabular i Tanjore marāṭhī og Poona marāṭhī. Herefter fremdrages fonetiske, grammatiske og syntaktiske karakteristika i Tanjore marāṭhī.

Der kan konkluderes at det formularprægede sprog udvikler sig i een retning fra 1725 og indtil ca.18oo: reducering i antal og længde af formularer, af persisk-arabiske ord og former fra ældre marāṭhī. I begyndelsen af 18oo-tallet optræder en række nye persisk-arabiske administrative termer, der dog for størstedelen kun

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bruges i en kort årrække. Herefter bliver manglende variation i formularerne og vaklen i overholdelse af grammatiske regler karakteristiske til og med sidste dokument. Det ikke-formularprægede sprog indeholder i en første periode indtil 177o foruden marāṭhī en del dravidiske og persisk-arabiske ord samt visse former fra ældre marāṭhī. Medens disses antal reduceres noget, erstattes dravidiske og persisk-arabiske ord af marāṭhī og sanskrit termer i den følgende periode indtil 18oo. Den allerede konstaterede brug af nye persisk-arabiske administrative vendinger i de tidlige år af 18oo-tallet genfindes i det normale sprog. Den sidste fase er karakteriseret ved en markant stigning i antallet af sanskrit termer samt brug af nogle engelske og få dravidiske ord. Isolerede tilfælde af brug af former fra ældre marāṭhī findes stadig. Kun i henseende til sætningssyntaks kan man se ubrudt konsistens, nemlig i brugen af den for dravidisk typiske omskrevne form for sætningsunderordning.

Dokumenterne gengives i faksimile med translitteration på modstående side. Den efterfølgende oversættelse henviser efter hver sætning til origina-

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lens tekstlinie. Ordindekset henviser til diskussion af gloser m.m. i afhandlingen og indeholder samtidig alle de i dokumenterne forekommende ord, der i form afviger fra standard Poona marāṭhī eller ikke er registreret som brugt dér.

Det er vort håb at udgivelsen af dette kildemateriale må afføde studier af Tanjore marāṭhī sproget set fra den dravidiske vinkel; en sådan videre analyse vil kunne fremdrage nye faktorer i de dravidiske sprogs påvirkning af de indoariske og hermed fremme forskningen på et af de felter, som i disse år i særlig grad optager indologien.

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København, den 3.september 1984

Michael Chesnutt
dekan

Forsvaret finder sted den 23.november 1984 kl. 14.15 i auditorium 8.1.13 , Københavns Universitet Amager, Njalsgade 8o, 23oo S.

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